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THE CITY OF GENOA





THE CHURCH OF SAN PIETRO BANCHI

THE CITY OF GENOA

BY
ROBERT W. CARDEN
A.R.I., B.A.

WITH TWELVE ILLUSTRATIONS IN COLOUR BY
WILLIAM PARKINSON
AND TWENTY OTHER ILLUSTRATIONS

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PREFACE

IT is to be feared that the greater number of English people who go to Genoa in order to learn something of the city and its inhabitants fail in completely achieving their object. It is not enough to visit her streets, churches and palaces in succession with guide-book—however trustworthy—in hand. The stranger may indeed succeed in this way in becoming familiar with the aspect of her public buildings and thoroughfares, and may learn much about the Genoese school of painting, and of the artists who worked in Genoa, but the everyday life of the populace will escape him. To come in contact with that—to see the Genoese and to know them, to realise their character, and the things which make up the sum of their existence, you must climb up the stairways which do duty for streets, or go down the maze of side alleys near the Piazza di Sarzana behind the old wall: streets so narrow that you may touch the houses on both sides as you pass, and across which stretches row after row of snow-white linen so that the view of the sky is almost shut out. In the dingy shops you will see macaroni, mousetraps and “Madonnas” exhibited for sale behind the same dim sheet of glass. Over the miserable little doorways you will see lordly coats of arms cut in black marble, and squatting on the doorsteps you will find such of the adult population as inhabit the ground floor, while those who live up the dark and

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broken stairs lean out among the washing to gape and chatter. The roadway is given up to innumerable half-dressed children, and a great variety of remarkably large and well-fed cats, while pervading all is the odour of things of the sea mixed with that of incense and eatables.

These are things which the reader must be left to discover for himself. The present book is confined to an endeavour to sketch the history of Genoa as succinctly as possible, and to describe some of the principal buildings, and the events which are connected with them.

The bibliography of Genoa has been published in a volume by itself, and readers who desire to extend their studies beyond the list which is appended cannot do better than consult Manno's *Bibliografia di Genova*.

In conclusion I wish to take this opportunity of expressing my thanks to Cav. Angelo Boscassi, Curator of the Palazzo Bianco, for his courtesy in allowing me to take up so much of his time, and to Mr William Heywood, whose kindly advice and criticism have been of the utmost assistance in the preparation of this volume.

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GENOA

CHAPTER I

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE CITY

THE majority of Italian cities trace back their origin to some conveniently remote period of which there is no certain record, and Genoa is no exception to the rule. Nothing short of a tradition which included Abraham and Noah would satisfy the Genoese of old time; and, as the legend has been carved over the nave arches of San Lorenzo ever since 1307, and this has become, so to speak, the official version, it may be conveniently quoted here before engaging in affairs deserving of better credence.

"Janus, the first King of Italy, and descended from the Giants, founded Genoa on this spot in the time of Abraham; and Janus, Prince of Troy, skilled in astronomy, while sailing in search of a place wherein to dwell in healthfulness and security, came to the same Genoa founded by Janus, King of Italy and great-grandson (pronepos) of Noah; and seeing that the sea and the encompassing hills seemed in all things convenient, he increased it in fame and greatness."

It is a little curious that with this for their creed the Genoese were agreeably surprised when, during some excavations commenced in 1898 near the Via Giulia, a quantity of vases and sepulchral ornaments,

dating back to the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., were unearthed ; for although Genoa had always strenuously maintained the story of her vast antiquity, it must be confessed that the material evidences were tenuous in the extreme. The successive descents of barbarian invaders had robbed her of all monuments previous to the year 900, with the single exception of a bronze tablet dating back to Roman days, which was dug up near the city in 1507, and is now preserved in the Palazzo Comunale.

Livy tells us that, in B.C. 206, Mago sacked the town ; and three years afterwards it was rebuilt by decree of the Roman consuls. In the reign of Hadrian a species of autonomous government was granted to all the cities of Italy, and it is to be supposed that Genoa profited by this concession. But when Rome's grasp slackened, and the barbarians were at the throat of Rome herself, Genoa felt the loss of her once powerful ally. Theodoric and the Goths sacked the town in 538, Alberic and his Lombards took possession of it in 588, and in 670 it was again sacked, by Rotharis, who, by destroying the walls and forbidding the Genoese to rebuild them, left the city an easy prey to the Saracens.¹

The Lombards do not seem to have stayed in Genoa, and long after the conquest the city remained under such control as Byzantium could exert, and began to develop its independence. The advent of Charlemagne in 800 had its due effect on Genoa, which became a *contado* ; and the first Count, Ademar, was instructed to protect the coast against the Saracens. According to Foglietta ² he armed a fleet in Genoa, and

¹ Lumbroso, *Sulla Storia dei Genovesi avanti il MC.*

² Foglietta, *Historia Genuensium.*

EARLY HISTORY OF THE CITY 3

driving the infidels from Corsica, was subsequently confirmed in the possession of the island by the Pope.¹

When the Carolingian dynasty fell Genoa was strong enough to "reconstitute herself in liberty"; and it is in the year 888 that the first consuls are supposed to have been elected "from the remains of the old aristocracy arising out of the feudal system which, during the Frankish dominion, had been established in the neighbouring territories; and whose representatives had been induced by personal motives to become Genoese citizens, forming at a later date the military and commercial *nobiltà* of the Republic."²

Little attempt seems to have been made to cope with the Saracens after the departure of the Franks; and in 936 the city was sacked and burnt, while the terrified inhabitants fled to the hills for safety. But in the same year ships were built to protect the coast, while a citadel and protective walls were hastily constructed. In 958 Berengarius III. and Adalbert confirmed the privileges of the *Commune of Genoa*, officially recognising the regime which had begun in 888; and the Republic of Genoa may be said to date its existence from this all important diploma.

The regular chronicles do not commence for another century, when the city had already begun to make those strides along the path of progress which in course of time rendered it one of Italy's most prosperous states. Already San Remo and Ceriana

¹ Canale, *Nuova Istoria della Repubblica di Genova*, vol. i. p. 73, endeavours to prove that Ademarus was Count of Geneva, basing his argument on the confusion caused by the term *Civitas Genuensis*, which meant equally Genoa or Geneva. It is scarcely likely, however, that Geneva would be called upon to supply a fleet for service in the Mediterranean.

² Lanzani, *Storia dei Comuni Italiani*, p. 120.

had become feuds of the church, the first step in the subjection of the Riviera ; the struggle with Pisa had begun in 1070, and formed a prelude to unceasing maritime wars ; the galleys supplied to Godfrey de Bouillon for the Crusade of 1097 brought about the commencement of commercial activity ; and in 1099 Genoa obtained her first colonies in Palestine as a reward for services rendered at the siege of Jerusalem, a city that had defied the efforts of the Crusaders until the arrival of Guglielmo Embriaco with certain high and portable towers, by means of which the attackers were enabled to command the battlements of the walls. These towers were dragged to the edge of the fosse, and a shower of projectiles and "Greek fire" poured through the loopholes at the defenders. A light breeze blew in the faces of the Saracens, and taking advantage of it, the Christians set light to the upper portion of the defences, and blinded the enemy with the smoke. There remained no other course for them but to desert the walls, and the Genoese were enabled to fill up the ditch unmolested. The towers were brought up to the face of the wall, but when the landing bridges were run out the Saracens opposed them with a hastily contrived battering ram, which successfully kept the attack at bay. Each time the great beam swung out the tower shuddered under the stroke, and the attempt was in danger of failing. At length the Genoese tied a bill-hook on a long pole, caught the swaying ropes of the ram, and, severing them, sent it crashing into the fosse below. The bridges were run out once more, and de Bouillon, followed by his brother and a handful of men, leapt down on to the walls, opened the city gates, and admitted the Christian army.

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From 1099 onwards the history of Genoa is clear and authentic. Caffaro has left us an inestimably valuable record of the events of his own days, and his annals were continued by public decree until 1293. He tells us that "Caffarus, when he was twenty years of age, began to write down and note the names of the Consuls of Genoa, and all the things which they had caused to be done."¹ He records the changes made in the consular government as well as the growth and development of the colonies which formed so important a factor in the subsequent wealth of the city.

There was, of course, an excellent reason why the energy of the Genoese developed thus early its tendency towards expansion into foreign lands. The whole of Italy was divided into small parcels, each of which was under the sway of a city whose population and spirit of enterprise was greatly disproportionate to the extent of her territories. With the land powers this inevitable desire for expansion led to the invasion of neighbouring rights, and drew each town into a duel to the death with its nearest neighbour. The maritime powers, Genoa, Pisa and Venice, were differently situated. Genoa at least had nothing much to boast of beyond her harbour and her mountainous possessions. Inland it was practically impossible for her to expand: but all that might be reduced to her control she grasped in no uncertain manner, and the whole Mediterranean coast from Monaco to Spezia was quickly brought to submission. Beyond this narrow strip of land, however, she was hemmed in by the Alps and Apennines, which rendered further advance impossible. True, she had

¹ Caffarus, *Annales*, in Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, vol. vi.

more or less of a high road into Lombardy by the valleys of the Polcevera and Bisagno, but beyond them lay the greater power of Milan, which effectually excluded ambitious hopes in this direction. As a consequence the only hope of expansion lay in the development of her sea power and the accretion of foreign possessions. Pisa, with Florence and Lucca at hand to limit her territories, and the Arno for a harbour, was somewhat similarly situated, and both republics turned their attention first to Sardinia and Corsica, and later to the Crimea and the coasts of Syria. It was inevitable that both should covet the same lands: and a condition of desperate rivalry arose in which neither could hope for peace until the other were crushed. Each strove restlessly for the favour of greater powers, and when Pisa contrived to enlist the help of the Emperors, Genoa replied by becoming fervently Guelf. It is impossible to follow all the details of the struggle, but it may be of interest to mention the pretexts on which the rivals let loose the dogs of war.

It has already been recorded that the Genoese had driven the Saracens from Corsica and occupied the island; and in 1050 the Pisans, exhorted thereto by the Pope, endeavoured to do the same in Sardinia;¹ but, finding themselves weatherbound, had taken possession of Corsica instead. These quarrels led to active warfare in 1119, peace being made in 1133 through the good offices of the Pope, who, in order to remove at least one of Genoa's grievances, made the see of San Lorenzo an archbishopric in the same year.

¹ It was eventually taken in 1115 by the Genoese and Pisans. Pisa claimed that the Genoese had agreed to accept all the booty taken as her share of the spoils, leaving the possession of the land to Pisa.

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The Genoese next turned their attention to the Saracens in Spain, taking the Balearic Islands with but little trouble, and sending a fleet, numbering in all 223 sail, under Ansaldo D' Oria, to the mainland in 1146. Almeria was taken in the ensuing year, and in 1148 a fresh armada, under Oberto della Torre, reduced Tortosa. The spoils gathered by the Genoese were enormous: 60,000 *marabottini* were sent home from Almeria, and the government received half the revenue of the city for fifteen years; while at Tortosa a third of the booty and a similar proportion of the revenues fell to the conquerors.

Profitable as these foreign campaigns were, in 1154 the Genoese were obliged to attend to events nearer home. Barbarossa came into Italy with the intention of uniting the whole peninsula under his own sway, and of depriving the several cities of their cherished independence. At his first coming he contented himself with taking Tortona, and commanding the Genoese to send ambassadors to his camp, where they were received in a friendly manner, and told that "the Emperor neither sought submission nor tribute" (Foglietta, *Historiæ*). But the Genoese deemed it advisable to protect themselves against a possible change of attitude, and in 1155 a new circuit of walls was commenced, the part near to, and including, the Porta degli Archi being completed in that year. Another portion was begun in 1157, and continued in the following year, when Frederic Barbarossa made his second descent into Italy. "Men and women worked at them night and day for eight days, and so much was built that one might have supposed it to have been the labour of a year"¹ The next year a

¹ Giustiniani, *Annali di Genova*, vol. i. p. 199.

fresh tract of wall was built in only fifty-three days, the whole population assisting and working in shifts.

It is not to be supposed, as Foglietta and other writers would have us believe, that the pacific policy of Barbarossa was dictated by fear of the valiant Genoese,¹ but by the requirements of his projected campaign in Sicily. The Pope had rendered the Island independent of the Empire by renewing the investiture in the name of the Holy See; and henceforth the one dream of Barbarossa's life was to wrest the kingdom from its possessors. For this purpose he required a fleet, and no city in Italy was better able to supply his wants than Genoa. For this reason alone did he receive her ambassadors in friendly guise.

It was in pursuance of this policy that in 1162 the Emperor granted to Genoa the whole littoral from Monaco to Spezia, where the smaller towns, having already placed themselves under the protection of Genoa as a consequence of the Saracen raids, found a benevolent neighbour transformed into an exacting mistress. Each Riviera town endeavoured to the best of its small ability to resist the change, and whenever Genoa was in difficulties with an external foe, some town or other would seize the opportunity presented for revolt. On most occasions the whole coast was in red rebellion; sometimes it was Albenga or Finale that broke lose; but Ventimiglia in especial never once let slip a chance of raising the flag of independence. On these occasions orders would be issued from Genoa that each of the other towns was to assist in quelling

¹ "But Frederic, considering within himself what a great undertaking an attack on Genoa would be—*quanta moles asset urbs Genuæ*—and seeing that it was better to give up freely what could not be obtained by force," etc. (Foglietta).

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the outbreak ; and when in 1199 Ventimiglia threw off the yoke, Albenga, Lingueglia, Diano, Oneglia and San Remo were obliged to swear that "we will wage bloody warfare (*guerram vivam*) against the Ventimigliesi, and we will not hold any intercourse with them either for buying or selling."¹ Finale had to be taken and retaken at least six times ; Lingueglia fell before Genoese troops seven times ; and Savona, after its first subjugation in 1131, was again reduced in 1153, 1170, 1202, 1227, 1251, 1253, 1317, 1332, 1397, 1440, and lastly in 1528, when it seems to have settled down more or less quietly.

The war with Pisa continued throughout the twelfth century, or would have done so, had not Barbarossa, who required the fleets of both rivals for his Sicilian campaign, obliged the belligerents to be content with taunts and threats which were to be fulfilled at a more convenient moment. It is recorded that the Genoese announced their intention of cutting off the noses and gauging out the eyes of all the Pisans they found in Sardinia,² and the latter replied by promising to sail into the harbour of Genoa, and shoot silver arrows and ballister shots swathed in scarlet into the city³ as a mark of contempt. There was a little fighting of a desultory kind, and peace was only made in 1175, when the Emperor again marched into Italy, and, summoning the ambassadors of both towns as well as those of Florence and Lucca to Pavia, forced upon them an unwilling peace, and divided the Island of Sardinia between the rival maritime states.

¹ G. Rossi, *Storia di Ventimiglia*.

² "Nos illorum nasos et oculos de capitibus eiciemus" (Caffaro).

³ "Magna vi argentearum sagittarum ac globorum purpurea fascia velatorum" (Foglietta, *Historia*).

During the progress of these events the government had been disturbed by the outbreak of internal dissensions, which more than once threatened the ruin of the Republic. The first act of the consuls in 1147 was to bring "the discordant spirits that were in the city to agreement"; and seven years later the consuls elect refused to be sworn, only accepting office when the archbishop offered them remission of all their sins by way of inducement. Mercenaries had frequently to be employed to quell the disturbances, and of the ringleaders, if caught, some were hanged or mutilated, while others had their houses destroyed or were let off with fines.

The outcome of these riots was a change in the form of government, and in 1190 a Podestà was appointed in the person of Tetocio il Manigoldo, a Brescian: but he, too, proved powerless to maintain peace, and his actions were from the first steadily opposed by the Castelli, one of the factious families. It would be vain to follow the history of these discords, and the alternating rule of Podestà and consuls: "the strife increased, and ever the della Volta fought with the della Corte, assailing their houses and towers with great stones which were cast from wooden engines, on such wise that no man may describe the same."¹ The authority of both Podestà and consuls was set at naught, and, though the towers were reduced to the lawful height of eighty feet in 1197,² the discords continued unabated.

Though these disturbances seem to have come to

¹ Giustiniani, *Annali*, vol. i. p. 272.

² A singular exception was made in favour of the Embriaco family, in recognition of the services of Guglielmo at the siege of Jerusalem. Their tower still rears its head above the buildings in the neighbourhood of Sta. Maria del Castello.



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an end in 1201, when consuls were appointed whose sole duty it was to see that the peace was not broken, the ensuing thirty or forty years were filled with a considerable number of wars. It is to be observed, however, that throughout the whole of Genoese history there were rarerly more campaigns than one in progress at the time. If there were war with Venice a truce was made with Pisa; and whenever there was war with either there was usually peace at home, so that the frequent outbreaks of civil war coincided with periods of external inactivity, and perhaps served to keep the Genoese exercised in the military arts.

In 1190 Barbarossa was succeeded by his son Henry VI., who demanded assistance from Genoa to enable him to enforce the old claim to the kingdom of Sicily. He received a fleet of thirty galleys, and these, with the addition of a squadron from Pisa, set sail for Gaeta in 1194. The opportunity was one not to be lost, and when the "allies" reached Sicilian waters a pitched battle was fought—not with the Sicilians, but between the Genoese and Pisans. Thirteen Pisan galleys fell into the hands of their rivals, and all the Genoese warehouses in Messina were burnt in retaliation. Once more further reprisals were prevented by imperial decree, and the war dwindled down to privateering exploits, until a truce was patched up in 1208.

Immediately afterwards the first war with Venice broke out. The Venetians, too, were pursuing a policy of expansion into lands not their own, and had taken possession of the Island of Candia. With Genoese help they were driven out, and their Admiral, Rainero Dandolo, captured. This high-handed action initiated another long series of the maritime wars with which the annals

of Genoa are so full. At this period the Republic was in a state of warfare with no less than six considerable powers, Venice, Pisa, Provence, Marseilles, the Saracens of the African coast, and the Sultan of Egypt. Whenever a fresh Crusade was preached truces would ensue on all sides, generally sworn to by large numbers of prominent men from the cities concerned; and on one occasion as many as five hundred Genoese and a similar number of Pisans met to ratify a truce made for five years, though before half the term had expired each city was raiding the marine of the other on various pretexts. The war with Venice, however, did not develop a serious aspect for another fifty years, and in 1218 there occurred a breathing space which was only disturbed by a punitive expedition against Ventimiglia.

Meanwhile the state of affairs in Genoa itself was far from satisfactory. When there was no Podestà the government had been in the hands of consuls, but the latter office was finally abolished about 1216 and replaced by "Doctors of Law." Whether there was a Podestà or not¹ is uncertain, but in 1218 the Podestà was Rambertino di Guidone di Bovarello, and he was assisted by eight *rettori*. These *rettori* were called "Nobili."

Probably since the day when Ephraimite lips refused to pronounce the Shibboleth of Gilead no single word in any language has brought so much shame, bloodshed and disaster to a nation as the word "Noble" brought to the Genoese. It is a title which does not seem to have existed previous to the year 1190: and though Accinelli

¹ Accinelli, *Compendio della Storia di Genova*, says a Podestà was appointed in 1216 with five "doctors" to assist as judges. Giustiniani says there was no Podestà in this year, and that the "doctors" were "foreigners," i.e. they were not Genoese.

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says it was first applied to the *rettori* mentioned above, there is reason to believe that it arose when thirty *cittadini nobili* were chosen to elect the Podestà.¹ These *nobili*, or *notabili* would naturally be drawn from the old feudal families which we have already seen supplying the earliest consuls. With the growth of the Republic the feudal aristocracy which had been destroyed by the barbarian invasions gradually came anew into being in the descendants of the former lords of the soil. It was an aristocracy to which any citizen of ability might rise by his own efforts. "In the period during which the liberty of the *popolo* and the power of individual cities had its greatest development, we shall find that out of the industrial and commercial class there arose in the commune a merchant nobility which was in no way inferior to the old feudal nobility, and which successive changes had once more introduced within the walls."² It was the quarrels of these nobles which in later years distracted Genoa, and rendered her powerless against the machinations of Milan and France.

It has been said that in 1218 the Republic was enjoying a truce from all her enemies ; but it was only the prelude to greater operations. It seemed, indeed, as if the Genoese, Pisans and Venetians felt instinctively that they must come to blows whenever they met, and in more sober moments strove to avoid the possibility of war. In 1222 an agreement was drawn up by which the three Republics bound themselves to submit all quarrels or disputes which might arise between any two to the arbitration of the third, and in 1238 the Venetians and Genoese agreed that the ships of

¹ Boscassi : *Illustrazione Storica dello Stemma di Genova*.

² Lanzani, *op. cit.* p. 106.

either fleet should carry the ensigns of both states, their own on the right side, and that of the other power on the left. But parchments and seals are of little avail in curbing the tempers of men, and serious wars followed these peaceful undertakings.

At this period Frederic II. was emperor, and being in open rupture with the pope, Gregory IX., who had already launched more than one bull of excommunication against him, replied by ill-treating such of the pope's allies as he could reach. He failed in an endeavour to draw the Genoese from their allegiance; and when the pope asked for a fleet which should carry the chief prelates of Europe to Rome, where a comprehensive edict was to be hurled at his imperial antagonist, Frederic commanded Pisa to equip a larger fleet with which he hoped to capture the Genoese galleys, and so prevent the consistory he so much feared. The ecclesiastics of Western Europe assembled at Nice, and in 1241 sixty ships arrived to carry them to Rome. Frederic was ready with a hundred vessels to bar the way, and, coming up with the enemy near the Island of Meloria, captured fifty-five of their galleys with all the prelates on board.

It was a terrible blow to Genoa, and Frederic followed up his success by inciting the Riviera to revolt. Savona, Albenga and Ventimiglia joyfully responded, while the Republic hastily prepared a new fleet to counteract the next move of the enemy. By day the dockyards rang with the clangour of work, and at night the task was continued by the light of torches. In this way fifty-two galleys were speedily furnished, the very merchants themselves being enrolled among the crews. When Frederic approached the harbour it was to find a fleet in readiness, and the

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walls fully manned: and he was obliged to content himself with harassing the Riviera.

With the death of Frederic in 1250 the revolted towns along the coast returned to their obedience, the Pisan fleet sailed back to the Arno, and Genoa again breathed freely

Once more the condition of affairs in the city itself called for reorganisation. The conduct of Filippo della Torre, Podestà in 1257 and a Genoese, had caused the pope to publish a bull of excommunication against the Republic, and it was resolved that the office which had plunged the town in shame should be practically abolished. To this end Guglielmo Boccanegra was elected *Rettore* or *Capitano* with thirty-two *Anziani*, and, in addition, a Podestà, who, shorn of all his former glory, was made to swear obedience to the *Capitano*. The office of *Capitano* was to be held for ten years, and though Boccanegra was deposed long before that period had expired, the few years that he remained at the head of affairs were crowded with events of importance.

Jerusalem had been taken by the Saracens in 1244, and while the Genoese, Pisans and Venetians were being gradually ousted from the ports of Palestine, instead of combining they fought among themselves with the most exemplary ferocity. With the peace manipulated by Gregory IX. still in force a brawl occurred at Tyre in 1251; and this, in conjunction with the arrival of a Genoese captain in command of a Venetian ship to which his claim was doubtful,¹ led to a serious outbreak. The Genoese quarter in Acre

¹ Sauli, *La Colonia de' Genovesi in Galata*, vol. i. p. 53, says that the captain, Bessoccio Mallone, had actually purchased it from a pirate, but that the Venetians refused to credit the story.

was laid waste by the Venetians, and when a fleet of thirty-seven sail was hurriedly despatched to effect reprisals the Venetians captured twenty-five of them. Tyre lay at their mercy, and the public and private edifices were levelled with the ground. The proud tower of the Genoese was destroyed to its very foundations, and the gates and corner stones found their way to Venice as trophies.

In spite of these reverses Genoa was steadily building up a colonial trade in another direction. After the fourth Crusade the Empire of the East had been divided up into smaller states. The Latin dynasty, commencing with Baldwin, Count of Flanders, had been placed on the throne of Constantinople, largely by the efforts of Venice, and that city had received due acknowledgment of her services in the form of trading concessions. The deposed Greek imperial family removed to Nicea, and set up a new empire. Michael Palæologos, tutor and guardian to the Emperor, seized his ward, put out his eyes, and usurped the crown : then, knowing the insecure position of Baldwin II., Emperor of Constantinople, and in concert with the Genoese, he brought about a revolution, and had little difficulty in taking possession of that throne as well. The Genoese were given the concessions which had formerly belonged to Venice, in return for a promise to support the new Emperor at need ; and it was at this period that the Republic came into the possession of Smyrna, Tenedos, Pera (1262), and the valuable trading centre of Caffa (1266) in the Black sea. Among these gifts was the Venetian fortress of Pantocratore : and the Genoese, burning to avenge the fate of their tower at Tyre, tore the building to pieces amid the sound of trumpets,

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and in their turn sent Venetian stones in triumph to Genoa, where they were built into the Palazzo del Capitano.¹

None the less, with but one exception, the fortunes of war went entirely in favour of Venice. Only once did victory smile on the Genoese; when, in 1262, Simone Grillo with sixteen ships entered the Adriatic, and came up with a rich convoy. In reply to his challenge the Venetians "elated with their former successes, cast chickens into the sea and bade the Genoese fight with them, as though upbraiding them for cowardice and an unwarlike disposition."² Stung to the quick by the implied taunt the Genoese attacked vigorously, and captured the whole convoy, not a single ship contriving to escape. Otherwise Venice continued triumphant until peace was made in 1269.

Meanwhile, the *Capitano* as head of the Republic proved unsatisfactory. Guglielmo Boccanegra abused his office by taking forcible possession of the house of Obbietto Fieschi, and converting it to his own uses with money from the public funds. By such acts as adding to the number of his personal bodyguard and increasing his own salary he gave offence to all classes, and was deposed by a popular revolution in 1262. The power was again centred in a Podestà, but though the *popolo* was contented enough with the change, the nobles continued to prove refractory.

It would be a difficult task to say what was the exact attitude of the *popolo* towards the endless revolutions which followed each other so rapidly in Genoa.

¹ Now the Palazzo San Giorgio.

² "Veniti superioribus successibus elati, gallinis in mare proiectis velut ingnaviam et imbellem exprobrantes, cum illis pugnare Genuenses iubent" (Foglietta, *Historia*).

Never pausing to think whether it would be for the better, they appear to have welcomed every change simply because it was a change, and even in the Revolution of 1797 they desired nothing better than that the existing order should be superseded by another. Were a Podestà in office and some bold spirit suggested that a Capitano would be better, they greeted the idea with applause: if a Doge were to succeed a Capitano their enthusiasm knew no bounds: and if it were decided to throw away the public freedom, and call in a French or Milanese master, the Great Bell was set rapturously ringing "a gloria."¹

Well knowing the mutable temperament of the people, two of the nobles, Oberto Spinola and Oberto D' Oria, came forward in 1270, and upon their own suggestion were appointed "Capitani della Libertà Genovese." From the first they were opposed by the rival families of the Fieschi and Grimaldi, and thus arose fresh feuds which occupied Genoa for nearly a century. The Capitani, however, supplied by the Spinola and D' Oria families, continued to rule until 1291.

Whatever warfare had been in progress with Pisa had hitherto been on a small scale, but in 1282 a new cause of dispute arose, when the judge of Ginerca in Corsica, previously under the ægis of Genoa, transferred his allegiance to Pisa. Genoa threatened reprisals, and both states began to prepare huge armaments. Early in 1284 the Genoese fleet sailed away

¹ The advent of a foreign master was not, as it is usually considered, an unwise step on the part of the Genoese. It prevented any one party from rising to too great power, and dominating the Republic, as had occurred in so many other Italian states. The foreigner was always expelled whenever it was convenient, and he could not levy taxes nor appoint new magistracies. It was a sure preventative against the rise of a tyrant in Genoa.



PORTA S. ANDREA

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to Corsica, and in their absence a Pisan fleet of seventy-two galleys entered the harbour of Genoa, carried out the old threat of shooting her silver arrows into the town, and then sailed back to the Arno to await the result. The story of the battle of Meloria, which followed immediately upon this challenge, is told in brief upon the marble façade of the little church of San Matteo, and all description of the defeat inflicted on the Pisans must be deferred until a later chapter. Suffice it to say that Pisa was finally crushed as a sea power. The return of Oberto D' Oria with his victorious fleet to Genoa was made the occasion of a public thanksgiving, and in commemoration of the battle a *palio* of gold brocade was presented annually to the church of San Sisto, on whose festival it had been fought.

The rest of the history of Pisa, so far as it concerns Genoa at this period, is briefly told. Peace was signed in 1288, by which Pisa agreed not to assist the Corsican rebels, to hand over the capital of the island, and to pay the costs of the war. Genoa used her fallen foe hardly ; for when Pisa, having promised to hand over Cagliari within twelve months, asked for another year's extension, offering as payment for the delay several "castelli," the fortress of Portovenere, the 25,000 lire still owing and fifty hostages, Genoa refused to listen ; and in 1290, aided by Lucca, Leghorn was taken, and the iron chain from the harbour of Porto Pisano cut away and carried to Genoa, where it was broken into several pieces and hung for a perpetual memorial in the chief places of the city. Pisa as a maritime power had ceased to exist, and Genoa was free to turn her attention to the rivalry of Venice.

The regulation of internal affairs under the *Capitani* had gone on unusually smoothly ; and when in 1291 the city waxed weary of that form of government, they quietly resigned and gave place to a new *Capitano*, introduced by common consent from Asti, who proved less able to restrain the nobles. A revolt by the Fieschi and Grimaldi in 1296 produced a civil war between themselves and the Spinola and D' Oria ; and when, after a forty days' battle in the streets, the rebels were expelled, Corrado D' Oria and Corrado Spinola were appointed *Capitani* for three years, at the end of which a Podestà was again elected.

Venice, meanwhile, had never forgiven Genoa for gaining the concession of Pera, and naturally regarded the colony with jealous eyes. In 1293 the colony was sacked, and Genoa in reply sent a fleet of twenty sail to the East, where, falling in with a Venetian squadron of thirty-two vessels, the Genoese admiral captured twenty-five. The effect of this news on the Venetians may be imagined : a fleet was prepared which was to sweep the Genoese from the seas for ever, while the Genoese took every precaution to ensure victory in the impending trial of strength. The two fleets met off Curzola in the Gulf of Venice in 1298, and the Venetians suffered such a defeat as brought about a truce which lasted for many years. As with Meloria, this battle is recorded on San Matteo, and will receive fuller consideration at a more convenient time.

Genoa's prisons were filled to overflowing with the sixteen thousand captives taken in the two great battles ; but when peace was made with both Pisa and Venice in 1299, they were allowed to return

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home. Pisa was to surrender Sassari in Sardinia, evacuate the whole of Corsica, and to pay the costs of the war.

Thus at the end of the century Pisa had been crushed, and a heavy blow struck at Venice. The fourteenth century opened with Genoa mistress of the seas, a position which she maintained for the next thirty years without a struggle.

These thirty years were not, however, years of peace. A split occurred between the Spinola and D' Oria, which left the former family supreme in 1306, and there ensued much fighting and destruction of property before the Grimaldi, Fieschi and D' Oria were once more admitted to the city in 1310.¹

In the following year Henry VII., the Emperor, visited Genoa on his way to receive the crown in Rome, and the Genoese hailed his coming as a possible means of terminating the endless feuds by which the city was torn. Consuls and Podestà had failed; Captains of the People or of Liberty had been no more successful; might not the monarch of a distant land with almost unlimited forces at his back bring the relief they sought? He was welcomed as a deliverer, and for the first of many times the Republic surrendered its liberty to a foreign lord. Henry was to be *Signore* for his life-time or for twenty years; to send an imperial vicar to regulate the state, and to receive 60,000 florins for himself and 20,000 for the Empress. But he died too soon for his rule to be of benefit, and the old quarrels once again divided the city into hostile camps. The Guelfs, represented by

¹ It is to be noticed that the nobles who were not in power were invariably driven into exile, and generally went off to sulk in Monaco, Taggia or Oneglia.

the Fieschi and Grimaldi, steadily absorbed the power ; while the Ghibelline Spinola and D' Oria, driven into renewed exile, seized the Riviera, and, assisted by Milan, laid siege to Genoa. A disastrous civil war thus broke out in 1317, and, while the Ghibellines kept up a vigorous attack, the Guelfs within the walls invoked the aid of Robert of Sicily. On the arrival of the king with a fleet of twenty-five galleys, the Ghibellines retired, and Robert was made lord of Genoa for ten years. He immediately afterwards took his departure, leaving Riccardo Gambacessa as his vicar ; but no sooner had he sailed than hostilities were renewed by the Ghibellines. The populace, infuriated by the continued unrest, pillaged and destroyed the Spinola and D' Oria palaces ; while the Guelfs, who had hitherto stood on the defensive, armed a fleet which sacked Albenga and left it in ruins. Roused to fresh exertions, the Ghibellines, unmindful of the ties which should have bound them to their native city, allied themselves with their own old enemy Pisa, and a formidable attack was only frustrated by the prompt action of the Florentines, who defeated the Pisans before they could effect a junction with the Ghibellines.

For thirteen years the unnatural strife continued, though with ever abating vigour, and Giustiniani says that in 1323 "the rapine in some measure decreased, for when it happened that a ship was taken, the victors were content to keep the booty and let the crews go free." It is not improbable that all the crops and supplies in the neighbourhood had already been consumed, and that neither side was anxious to take up the burden of providing for prisoners.

It is a remarkable picture which this civil war

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presents. No hatred could be stronger than that which the factions nursed in themselves and fostered in others: the leaders, brave and skilful as they undoubtedly were, seemed resolved that if their own side could not win, the enemy should reap as little satisfaction as possible from the results of the war. Dysentery broke out in the garrison; famine and pestilence were almost welcomed, so long as the enemy suffered as well; and though the Catalonians attacked the ships and ravaged the possessions of both Guelfs and Ghibellines, neither side cared to relinquish the suicidal warfare and make common cause against a common foe.

At length the depredations of the Catalonians increased to such magnitude and daring that the Genoese within the walls and without suddenly awoke to the fact that to continue the internecine strife would mean irretrievable ruin. It was agreed, therefore, in 1330, that Robert of Sicily should be asked to arbitrate. Peace was made in the same year, and two years later Guelfs and Ghibellines were once more all reinstated in Genoa, where under the Sicilian vicar, the minor offices were equally divided between them, and the rights of the *popolo* placed under the surveillance of an *Abbate del Popolo*.

For three years there was peace; and then the old discords once more broke out, because the Ghibellines suspected the new vicar, Bolgaro di Tolentino, of favouring the Guelfs. As the result of a sudden rising the vicar and the Guelfs were expelled from the city, and Raffaele D' Oria and Galeotto Spinola became *Capitani e Presidenti* of Genoa.

With perpetual mutations of this nature in the government it is scarcely to be wondered at that

unrest prevailed in all classes. The nobles were cordially hated by the *popolo*, and it required little to bring the dissatisfaction to a head. For twenty years they had been obliged to fight for Guelf or Ghibelline; for twenty years they had been starved, robbed and ill-treated by the nobles and their minions; and when at last the crews of the galleys revolted because their pay was in arrears, and the ringleader, Francesco Capurro, who had appealed to the French king for redress, was thrown into prison by that monarch, the merchant classes resolved to win back for themselves that liberty which was being gradually crushed out. In 1337 the right to appoint their own *Abbate* had been taken away; but two years later the nobles, intimidated by the resolute attitude of the *popolo*, were reluctantly obliged to restore the privilege.

Then came a change which, even for the Genoese, was as remarkable as it was sudden and unpremeditated.

The electors gathered in the Palazzo del Capitano to choose the new *Abbate*, while a great crowd with the *Capitani* collected outside to hear the result. The election occupied a considerable time, and the crowd was growing impatient. Just then "a mechanic, of so low an estate that his name has not been recorded,"¹ stood up, asking permission to speak: and, scarcely waiting for a reply, pointed to "one, Simone di Boccanegra by name, a man of great worth, a chief citizen and withal expert in affairs, of good courage and wise counsels," and said that it would be better to leave their bickerings and make Simone Boccanegra their *Abbate*. The suggestion was received with enthusiasm: "Yes, let him be our *Abbate*," cried the onlookers. Boccanegra, however, drew back, but

¹ Foglietta, *Historia*, from which this account is chiefly drawn.



COURTYARD OF THE PALAZZO DELL' UNIVERSITÀ

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was placed by force between the two *Capitani*, and the sword of the *Abbate* thrust into his hands.

When by dint of signs he had obtained silence, he thanked the people for their good will, and added : " It is not for me to bring into my family a title none of my ancestors have borne ; therefore I pray you give the office to some other for whom it is more fitting." With these words he handed back the sword. It will be remembered that Guglielmo Boccanegra had held the more honourable post and title of *Capitano*. The crowd fell to discussing the situation, when suddenly a voice cried : " Then let him be our *Signore* ! " a suggestion which was greeted with applause and the clapping of hands. At the mere idea of a merchant becoming Lord of the Republic the *Capitani* were overwhelmed with consternation ; and they, too, began to urge Boccanegra to accept the office of *Abbate*, and bade him beware how he should remain obstinate in the face of the excited gathering.

After due consideration he again stepped forward, saying that he was willing to serve either as *Abbate* or *Signore*, and asked whether they wished him to govern in concert with the *Capitani* ?

Some writers have suggested that the whole episode had been carefully engineered from the outset. Certainly Boccanegra had played his cards with splendid skill, for the crowd was by this time completely carried away, and with a mighty shout made it to be understood that he was to rule alone and unaided, and that his title was to be *Doge of Genoa*.

He was carried in triumph to his house, and a few days later was formally elected and installed as Genoa's first Doge.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL SURVEY, 1339 TO 1528

THE new office which had been so dramatically thrust upon Simone Boccanegra was one which called for exceptional self-reliance. There were many who were opposed to the new form of government, and the nobles in particular let it be seen that whenever the opportunity arose they would prove themselves powerful enemies. The Doge began his rule wisely, restraining the fury of the people when they raided the houses of the nobles and would have destroyed them ; banishing the truculent Grimaldi and Fieschi, Spinola and D' Oria from the city ; and reducing the whole Riviera, with the exception of Ventimiglia and Monaco, to obedience. The nobles, too, were made to feel his power ; for when Giorgio del Carretto, believing that the old conditions still prevailed, began an attack on Albenga, he was not only compelled to desist, but to sue for a pardon which was only granted after he had suffered imprisonment in an iron cage, and had paid heavy fines.

The real power of the nobles, however, was in no sense diminished, and by their means a perpetual state of friction was kept alive between the Doge and the citizens. In 1344 Boccanegra was asked to relinquish his bodyguard, while at the same time the nobles clamoured for readmission. In despair Simone complied, and resigned his position. His

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action recalled the Genoese to a sense of the danger which was threatened by the presence of the nobles in arms outside the gates: for when they refused to disarm before being admitted the townspeople resolved to keep them out at all costs,¹ and elected a new Doge in the person of Giovanni da Morta. He died in office in 1350, and was succeeded by Giovanni da Valente.

Ever since the battle of Curzola the Genoese had been supreme upon the seas, for Venice had received a blow from which it took her a long time to recover; and it was not until 1350 that she was once more in a position forcibly to object to the high-handed proceedings of her ancient enemy. Foscarini² says that "the Genoese, puffed up with haughtiness and pride, went cruising here and there in the Black Sea; and being unwilling that the Venetians should trade in the Sea of Azof as formerly they had done, they captured the Venetian galleys, took them to Caffa, and there forced them to discharge their cargoes. When news of this was brought to 'La Dogal Signoria de Vinexia' they replied by capturing the marauders, in order to

¹ The Genoese, who were turned out of the city, took up their quarters at Monaco. In 1346 the Doge sent a fleet against them, whereupon 12,000 fled to Marseilles and enlisted in the army of Philip VI. of France, then at war with England. It may be of interest to English readers to know that these are the Genoese archers who, at the Battle of Cressy, were shot down in front by the English, and slashed by the French from the rear.

² This quotation is taken from a manuscript note by Foscarini, the Venetian historian of the seventeenth century, on the margin of a copy of the *Historia* by Uberto Foglietta (Italian version of 1597) now in the possession of the writer. These manuscript notes, of which there are some two hundred, nearly all bear on the wars of the two Republics, and tend to compare the version of the Venetian chroniclers with that of Foglietta. The part dealing with the War of Chioggia is covered with his remarks, and Foscarini has read and reread these pages so often and so diligently that they have come entirely away from the binding.

lower the pride of Genoa." There followed a series of battles in which the fortunes of war finally rested with Genoa.

Before the expiration of the year the Venetians captured—according to Foscarini—twenty galleys at Negroponte after a stubborn fight ; and—according to Foglietta—fourteen without a struggle. Apart from these discrepancies, both authors agree that the victory fell to Venice ; and in 1352, with the hope of following up the advantage and crushing the enemy, the Venetians made common cause with the King of Arragon and the Emperor of Constantinople. A formidable armada was equipped and sent out for the purpose of sacking Pera. On the approach of this fleet the Genoese, under Pagano D' Oria, took refuge in Pera, but, finding that it was impossible to avoid battle, took up a position in the narrow waters of the Bosphorus, where the superior number of the allies would be in part neutralised. After a battle, perhaps the hardest fought in all the history of Genoa, D' Oria was victorious, and another inscription added to those on the church of San Matteo. Venetian writers, it is true, assert that their ships gained the day, but as the allies were prevented from reaching Pera the Genoese claim seems to be the more reasonable.

Pagano D' Oria was superseded by Antonio Grimaldi, who in 1353 suffered a disastrous defeat at Larghero, or Alghero, where nearly all his fleet was lost. As a result of the battle Genoa placed herself under the protection of Milan as a precaution against internal tumults.

Determined to avenge the defeat they again elected Pagano to the supreme command, and sent him into the Adriatic to attack Venice in her own lagoons ;

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where, finding that the hostile fleet was absent, D' Oria took and burnt Parenzo, menacing Venice herself. The entrances to the lagoon were hastily closed by a line of ships chained together, and Niccolo Pisano was ordered to return. As the inscription on San Matteo tells us, he was caught at Sapienza by the Genoese, and was taken prisoner with his whole fleet.

Once more Genoa had triumphed ; and it is passing strange that Pagano did not follow up his advantage and attack Venice at home. Among Foscarini's notes there is one which says that before the battle of Sapienza the Genoese offered to make peace, but that the Venetians contented themselves with ordering Pisano to avoid an engagement. He adds, quoting from a manuscript chronicle which he does not name : " Now this was permitted by Messer Jesus Christ for our sins, and because the Venetians would not make peace with the Genoese when entreated so to do by the Pope. And Christ took away their might and their valour, so that they should be brought low, and haply, be less obstinate in future."

When peace was made in 1355 the Milanese, presuming upon the part they had played during the preliminary negotiations, seized the opportunity to make demands to which the Genoese were in no degree inclined to accede. At the same time the discords within the city broke out afresh ; and when Simone Boccanegra returned from Pisa at this juncture he was welcomed by the *popolo*, who besought him to place himself at their head. According to Foglietta, he had already determined to oust the Milanese, and proceeded indirectly towards his object by inciting the people to rise against the nobles. When once the strife had begun it was easy to direct the attack

against the foreigners as well ; and in 1356 both the Milanese and the nobles were defeated and driven out, while Boccanegra once more became Doge.

During the seven years of his second Dogate Genoa had peace, but in 1363 he was poisoned while entertaining the King of Cyprus. He was buried in S. Francesco di Castelletto, and the monument which was afterwards placed to his memory has been preserved in the Palazzo Bianco.

Gabriele Adorno succeeded him, and his first act was to pass a law excluding the nobles from all the offices of the Republic. It was a regulation which, by abolishing one evil, prepared the way for another ; and throughout the succeeding century and a half the four families of Montaldi, Fregosi, Adorni and Guarchi, unchecked by the presence of the nobles, fought among themselves for the Dogate. Adorno, in 1370, was replaced by Domenico Fregoso, and he in turn was superseded by Antoniotto Adorno in 1378.

The struggle with Venice had in the meantime received a fresh impulse, the chief reason alleged by the historians of both Republics being that the rival merchants had come to blows in 1372 in Cyprus. Another dispute arose in 1377 over the ownership of Tenedos, and it was immediately after this that hostilities began in earnest. Calogioanni, Emperor of Constantinople, left the throne at his death to Manuel, passing over the claim of Andronicus, his elder son ; and the latter, in order to enforce his rights, formed an alliance with the Genoese while Manuel leagued with Venice. Both contestants promised the Island of Tenedos to their supporters as a reward.

Yet Constantinople scarcely figures in the strife,



THE VIA NUOVA (NOW THE VIA GARIBALDI)

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for when the Venetians had seized Tenedos, refusing to give it up at the request of the Genoese, and war was declared, the issue was decided in the Adriatic. While Genoa leagued with the Carrara, Lords of Padua, with Aquileia and with the King of Hungary, Venice sought and obtained the support of Milan, though their ally seems only to have concerned herself with despatching marauding bands to harry the Genoese territories.

The Genoese ordered Luciano D' Oria to attack Venice ; and passing the Venetian fleet under Vettore Pisano without giving battle, he contrived to reach Pola, where he was unsuccessfully assailed by the enemy. On the departure of the Venetian fleet, Luciano removed to Zara where he established his base, and finding that Pisano had taken possession of Pola, attacked him there in 1379, and gained one more of the victories recorded on the church of San Matteo.

Pisano was thrown into prison on his return to Venice ; and while Pietro D' Oria, who succeeded to the command on the death of Luciano at Pola, sailed into the Adriatic with fifteen galleys, Carlo Zeno with nine vessels entered Ligurian waters to do what damage he might, in happy ignorance of the course events had taken nearer home.

For the second time Venice lay at the mercy of her rival, and might have been taken without a blow had the new admiral sailed into the lagoon immediately. But his orders were to sack the city if he took it : "he was not to leave in it a single noble, great or small ; all were to be taken and sent to Genoa, excepting only those whose heads were demanded by the Lord of Padua."¹ Accordingly he waited for

¹ Vincens, *Histoire de la République de Gènes*, book v., chap. vii.

reinforcements, and only when his fleet had been increased to eighty-four galleys with other vessels bringing up the total to two hundred and ten sail,¹ did he approach the city in earnest, crying: "A Venezia, a Venezia, e viva San Giorgio."

The lagoons of Venice have greatly changed since Fra Giocondo, at the end of the sixteenth century, altered the mouth of the Brenta, and caused the lagoon of Chioggia to fill up with silt. The town of Chioggia stood on two islands, forming part of the narrow bank which protects Venice from the strength of the Adriatic; and north and south of these islands there were navigable channels connecting the lagoon and the sea.

The citizens of Venice were dazed by the terrible calamity which seemed imminent, and for some days they made no attempt to cope with the situation. The galleys lying in the Arsenal remained unheeded; but when at length they awoke from their stupor a fleet of rowing boats was despatched to close the channels leading to the lagoon.

Reaching the neighbourhood of Venice at the beginning of August 1379, D' Oria found the northern passages already sealed; but entering by the Canale di Brondolo, he proceeded to attack Chioggia. After desperate fighting the city fell on August 16th, and the news of this fresh disaster forced the Signoria to ask peace. Ambassadors were sent to Treviso to treat with Francesco di Carrara,² while all the Genoese who were in prison in Venice—there were

¹ Chinazzo, *Cronaca della Guerra di Chionza*. Foglietta says there were only sixty.

² Chinazzo and Foscarini's notes. The statements of Genoese writers that the ambassadors were sent to Pietro D' Oria are not borne out by Venetian historians.

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only seven of them—were sent as a present to D' Oria, who returned them, saying haughtily that he would come and release them himself.

Carrara proved equally arrogant, and the terms he offered were so cruel that Venice in desperation resolved to fight on rather than accept them. Foscarini tells how the great bell of St. Mark summoned all the people together, and that they stood in great fear of what was to come. Twelve galleys were brought out of the arsenal, and when Taddeo Giustiniani was made admiral, the sailors refused to serve unless Vettore Pisano was released and given the command. "And all the people," says Foscarini, "cried out as with one voice: 'If we are to go out and fight in these galleys give us Messer Vettor Pisano for our captain!' And at a late hour on the same evening the sailors and many others of the people came together in the courtyard of the Palazzo and cried with a loud voice: 'Viva, viva Messer Vettor Pisan!' And hearing their shouts he came to the grating and cried: 'Viva Messer San Marcho!'"

"Now when Messer lo Doxe and the Signoria heard of it and saw the multitude in the courtyard of the Palazzo, and that all the Piazza di San Marco was likewise full of people, Messer Vettore was brought from his prison. And Messer lo Doxe with the Signoria went to meet him at the steps, and led him to the altar of San Marcho, and gave the gonfalon of the Republic into his hands. And the people continued to shout: 'Viva, viva Messer Vettor Pisan!' But he said to them: 'Be silent, be silent my children; Viva San Marcho!' Then he departed to his own house: and you must know that from San Marcho to San Fantin where he dwelt, you could not

have dropped one grain of seed to the ground, so great was the crush."

While the Genoese were steadily pushing forward and had established their outposts on the island of Malamocco, the enthusiasm which had been aroused in Venice by the appointment of Pisano had an instantaneous effect. The thirty-three galleys, all that lay in the arsenal, were rapidly equipped; and when, on November 24th, the fleet, with the Doge himself on board, took the offensive, D' Oria was compelled to draw back, holding only Chioggia and Brondolo.

At the beginning of the following year, 1380, Carlo Zeno returned with a fleet of fifteen galleys; and an attack on the Genoese in Chioggia having failed, it was decided to close the channels still remaining open and thus to imprison the hostile ships. At dead of night the Venetians pulled out to effect their purpose, but the sound of their dipping oars betrayed their approach and the alarm was given. For three days and nights the Genoese fought desperately to prevent the enemy carrying out their intention, and though they succeeded in burning to the waterline the ships destined to block the channels the hulks were sunk in the waterway and secured with piles.

D' Oria was trapped, and a valiant attempt to escape by the passage of Brondolo, the only one still open, was frustrated. Following up their advantage the Venetians next attacked the Monastery of San Michele on the island of Brondolo, and while fighting bravely against immense odds, Pietro D' Oria was killed. It was the death blow to any hopes the Genoese might have nursed of escaping from the dilemma in which they found themselves; and retreating to Chioggia to wait the turn of events, they



A GENOESE " ROOF GARDEN "

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were obliged to set fire to many of their galleys to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy.

In Genoa Napoleone Grimaldi had been appointed to succeed D' Oria ; but neither he, nor the relief fleet, nor yet the vigorous attacks of Carrara against Treviso were sufficient to distract the attention of Venice from Chioggia. Venice was intent on avenging the past ; and when the besieged essayed to destroy the barricades with a fleet of boats made from the ruined houses of the Chioggiotti they were driven back with terrible loss. When the women and children were sent out from the famished city they were driven back to swell the number of hungry mouths and to hasten the end : deserters were ruthlessly put to death, to deter others from following their example and so that the demand on the lessening supplies might suffer no diminution. By March, bread was the only article of food in the town, and leather soaked in salt water was regarded as a luxury only to be purchased by the wealthy.

In the middle of the month of June came the closing scene. The Genoese were obliged to surrender unconditionally, and on the 24th the Venetian fleet with the Doge and Signoria, and the two Admirals Carlo Zeno and Vettore Pisano, sailed to Chioggia and took possession of it together with the remnant of the garrison. The prisoners numbered about 4000 ; and nineteen galleys fell into the hands of the victors.¹

Gasparo Spinola endeavoured to carry on the war by raiding the territories of Venice, but in 1382 he returned to Genoa, summoned to quell the local dis-

¹ Chinazzo places the prisoners at 4000 and the galleys at twenty-one. Foscari says there were 4300 Genoese and 270 Paduan prisoners with nineteen galleys.

turbances which had once more broken out in the Riviera. Both Venice and Genoa were tired of war and the offer of the Count of Savoy to act as arbitrator was gratefully accepted. The terms of this peace, so far as they concern the two Republics, were that prisoners and lands which had changed hands were to be restored: Tenedos was to belong to neither, and the fort on that island was to be destroyed, the Venetians inviting the rival claimant to send a representative to see it demolished. Thus ended a war which Foglietta justly describes as "lamentable and pestiferous."

The usual internal discords had been silenced by the need for combined action against the enemy. The government still rested in the hands of the strongest party, who elected the Doge, and he invariably remained in office only so long as no other faction succeeded in turning him out. Between 1383 and 1394 there were twelve changes in the Dogate. The last of these, Antoniotto Adorno, self-elected in the latter year, finding that his position was showing signs of weakness, persuaded the Signoria to call in the aid of Charles VI. of France, and the Dogate was abolished while Adorno retained his hold upon the Republic by securing his appointment as temporary Governor.

Antoniotto was succeeded in 1397 by a new Governor, a Frenchman, and entirely unprepared for the methods of the Genoese. Neither he nor his successors were capable of dealing with the sudden and apparently unpremeditated revolts by which the city was periodically shaken, and their first act was to get away as quickly as might be and leave the factions to their own devices. When the plague broke out in

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the same year it afforded an additional excuse for deserting his post, and the Ghibellines with 8000 and the Guelfs with 3000 adherents immediately fortified the two halves of the town and fought on without interruption for nine weeks. On one day alone twenty-two "most beautiful palaces of great value" were sacked and burnt; and when at length arms were laid down the damage done amounted to a million florins.

Finding that his former Governors had proved inefficient, Charles appointed Jean le Maingre, or Boucicault, Marshal of France, in 1401. A man who, under a religious exterior, hid an ambitious nature, he began by abolishing all the minor offices except that of the Podestà, saying that they were now merged in himself: and after plunging the Republic into a disastrous war with Venice his thoughts were fortunately diverted by the death of the Duke of Milan, leaving infant sons to succeed him. Boucicault resolved to share in the scramble which ensued for the broad territories of the Duchy, and took the field in 1409 at the head of a Genoese army, equipped by Genoese money, leaving Ugo Scolet as Vice-Governor. Boucicault was defeated at Tortona by the combined forces of Milan, Venice, and Ferrara; and on receipt of the news the Genoese rose against their foreign masters. Scolet was slain, and those of his bodyguard who did not escape from the city were shut up in the Castelletto. In the meanwhile the political refugees from the Republic had joined the camps of either Facino Cane or the Marchese di Monferrato, both of whom were advancing on Genoa by different routes for the avowed purpose of freeing the city from the yoke of France, and nursing the

secret hope of succeeding to the lordship. Had the two armies been allowed to meet they would inevitably come to blows, and accordingly Facino was bought off for 30,000 *Genovini* while the Marchese di Monferrato was made Governor for a year with the same salary that had been formerly paid to the Doge. Boucicault returned to find himself superseded ; and after an abortive attempt on Finale and Savona made his way back to France.

As on former occasions the Genoese rapidly wearied of their new friends and in 1413 the Monferrini were driven from the territories of the Republic, while an honest attempt was made to organise the state in such a manner as to render these appeals to foreign powers unnecessary. At a general *consiglio* Giorgio Adorno, brother of Antoniotto, was elected Doge : the threatened reprisals of Monferrato were averted by a payment of 24,000 crowns, and a new mode of election to the supreme magistracy was drawn up and approved. Though these regulations became law they seem to have done but little good, and after a civil war of more than a year's duration the Doge was summoned to resign. It is needless to follow the history of all the Doges. Whenever the Adorni were in power the Fregosi were banished ; and whenever the Fregosi returned the Adorni were sent into exile. Neither party was sufficiently strong to assert a permanent mastery : each showed itself more capable of obtaining power than of holding it : and finally, neither the Fregosi nor the Adorni were actuated by motives of patriotism, nor were they above enlisting the services of Genoa's enemies in order to attain their own ends. The Genoese character lacked that stern power for cruelty and mystery which made the Dogate of Venice

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possible, while the *popolo*, hoping to gain advantages from supporting an individual rather than fearing the retribution of some terrible Council of Ten, drifted from one party to the other according to the inducements of the moment. Milan, Arragon and France did all in their power to promote the condition of anarchy : and when at length a patriotic Doge arose in the person of Tommaso Fregoso, though he sold his plate in 1420 to fit out a fleet which held the Arragonese in check in Corsica, he was unable to resist the attack of the Milanese. Leghorn was sold for 120,000 ducats and the money spent in an endeavour to keep the enemy at bay : but resistance was useless and the *Signoria* of Genoa was given to the Visconti at the end of 1421, nominally under the same terms as those under which Charles VI. had previously held it for France.

From the outset the Milanese rulers behaved with an arrogance which boded no good to the Republic. All the bells were removed from the Polcevera valley in order that the people should not for the future be called to arms with such unpleasant promptitude, and many of the outlying feuds were given to nobles whose loyalty to Milan was beyond doubt, so that any hostile movement would be difficult, if not impossible. Oppizino d'Alzate, whom the Genoese afterwards murdered, came as *Commissario Ducale* in 1425 and drove the citizens to the verge of distraction by his acts of tyranny. Then the war of the Neapolitan Succession broke out ; and Genoa was dragged into it, partly by the Milanese and partly by the request of Gaeta that a force might be sent to protect the city during the vicissitudes of the war. A fleet of nineteen galleys was hastily equipped and put under the command of Biagio

Assereto who, sailing in the direction of Naples, came up with the enemy near Ponza in 1435 and gained what may be regarded as a remarkable victory. This great achievement Assereto himself describes in a letter to the Senate on August 6th. "Twelve ships out of the king's fleet have been abandoned by their crews, one of their ships was burnt and another sunk : two of them drew away from the battle and have escaped to tell the news. We have captured the King of Arragon and the King of Navarre, the Grand Master of the Order of St. James, the Duke of Sessa, the Prince of Taranto, the Viceroy of Sicily and many other barons, knights and gentlemen, with Mene-guccio de l' Aquila, captain of three hundred lances ; and the prisoners number thousands of thousands " (re prexoin son migiara de migiara).

It was indeed pleasant news that reached Genoa from over the sea. As the breath of it spread, shops began to close and merchants and magistrates came out from their houses and collected in knots in the public squares. It seemed as though the glorious enterprises of other days which had so suddenly ceased after the Battle of Pola were to begin afresh, and the city made great preparations to receive the admiral and his illustrious prisoners.

Suddenly a messenger arrived from Milan to say that the captives were not to be landed in Genoa but were to be disembarked at Savona and to go direct to Milan. The citizens were thunderstruck ; the vision of treaties which would leave the Republic mistress of the Mediterranean was rudely dispersed. The odious yoke would doubtless have been shaken off directly had it been possible ; but there were two thousand of Milan's mercenaries within the walls, and

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the Visconti held every important fortress about the city. The King of Arragon, the enemy whom Genoa had captured by her own unaided effort, was received at Milan as a friend, and the Duke scornfully commanded the Genoese to arrange for the conveyance of Alfonso back to Spain.

It was then that the citizens rebelled against such treatment and drove out the hated foreigners, killing the Governor before the church of San Siro.

Free for a time from the control of a foreign potentate the restless Republic again elected a Doge in the person of Isnardo Guarchi, and again fell back into the confusion of civil broils: to be followed by the inevitable submission to France or Milan. Such was the blindness of the Genoese in their dissensions that out of the period which elapsed between 1400 and 1528 the Republic was under the control of extraneous rulers for eighty-one years. The power and prosperity of the state which had begun to decline after the disastrous war of Chioggia continued its retrograde movement, and although Andrea D' Oria in the Year of Liberty once more freed the city from external supervision, America and the passage round the Cape of Good Hope had already been discovered, and Genoa had lost all her colonies, including those of Pera and in the Black Sea.

Isnardo Guarchi, elected in 1436, was succeeded almost immediately by the patriotic Tommaso Fregoso: and Fregoso was driven out by the Adorni and Milanese in 1442. Raffaele Adorno became Doge; and the Fregosi, being expelled, in their turn besought the friendship of Milan.

Occupied in this manner with their internal struggles, the Genoese paid little heed to the prepara-

tions of the King of Arragon, who chafed under the remembrance of his capture at Ponza. He made peace with Milan and Venice in 1455 and was thus free to give full scope to his resentment. As a consequence of his threatening attitude Charles VII. of France was made Lord of Genoa and its territories. From 1458 to 1461 French Governors ruled the town, and all attempts to remove the self-imposed yoke proved unsuccessful. For once the *popolo* showed no inclination to rise; and when Pietro Fregoso forced his way into Genoa the gates were closed behind him and all chance of escape cut off. Unsupported and alone Pietro rode madly from gate to gate to see if any were still open, only to be obliged to turn his horse back again into the heart of the city. He was recognised by the crest on his helmet, and as he spurred away from the Porta degli Archi "Giovanni Cossa came up and dealt him two blows with a battle-axe full upon the helm; and still his charger bore him away to the Porta di Sant' Andrea, where he was again wounded by a shower of stones from the roofs. And nigh to the Palazzo Pubblico he fell fainting from his horse and was carried to the palace more dead than living; where he died a few hours later without having spoken."¹

After his death the oppression of the French was redoubled and at length became so intolerable that the Fregosi and Adorni actually combined against them. In 1461 the French were ousted from Genoa with Milanese help and the Adorni and Fregosi immediately fell to fighting for the Dogate with such vigour that in 1464 the then Doge, Paolo Fregoso, was driven from office and Francesco Sforza, Duke of

¹ Giustiniani, *Annali*, vol. ii. p. 416.



ALBERGO DEI POVERI

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Milan, invited to accept the position from which the French had been driven with so much trouble three years before. In such wise did the Genoese wilfully work their own ruin. It is not surprising that in the same year Famagusta had to be relinquished ; nor that in 1465 the island of Corsica was given into the safer keeping of the bank of St. George ; nor that in 1475 Caffa and all the Black Sea colonies were swept from the possession of Genoa.

When the rule of Milan had endured twelve years, it happened that Galeazzo Maria Sforza, the Duke, was assassinated, and the ensuing period of confusion was seized upon as a convenient opportunity for revolt. In 1477 the Milanese garrison was overpowered ; and for a few months Genoa ruled herself by means of six Captains of Liberty ; until, in fact, the Milanese returned in force in the following year and retook the city. The expedition was led by Prospero Adorno, a former Doge, who had been commissioned by Sforza to remain as Ducal Governor. But the people, with the usual mutability of the Genoese, proclaimed him Doge instead, and Prospero drove out the army which a few months before had brought him to the city.

The rage of Milan at this treachery was quickly shown by the enormous army which was despatched down the valley of the Polcevera. Twenty-eight thousand foot soldiers heavily armed advanced towards the city ; and to oppose them Adorno and Roberto di Sanseverino massed all the available forces of the Republic on the heights to the north. Encumbered by their accoutrements and unused to fighting among the hills the issue was never in doubt for a moment. The Milanese broke and fled in all directions, only to

fall into the hands of the mountaineers who had collected with the hope of plunder, and by whom they were despoiled not only of their arms but even of their clothes; so that "it was a sight not so much to excite pity as provoking mirth to see the greater part of the army stalking back to Milan in the condition in which they were born and carrying branches of trees and wisps of straw to cover their shame instead of the booty they had expected to take in Genoa."¹

Then followed the customary revolutions, Prospero being removed after a more than usually fierce battle in which the Adorni, having captured thirteen of the Fregosi at the first attack, hung them all on a hastily constructed gallows in front of the Palazzo Pubblico and tried to keep their friends at bay sufficiently long for the breath to be choked out of their miserable, writhing bodies. This cruelty caused many to desert the Adorni, and the Doge only contrived to escape by swimming out to a ship in the harbour.

Battista Fregoso, the next Doge, was removed by the wiles of Paolo his uncle; who, having cast him into prison in 1483, called the Senate and three hundred citizens together and asked them to name a successor.

Paolo himself was elected, and during his disastrous term of office Sarzana was lost in a war with Florence, and the Corsicans driven to distraction by the unpunished misdeeds of his hirelings: then, seeing that he was likely to go the way of his predecessors, he implored Lodovico Sforza, reigning Duke of Milan, to assist him in maintaining his position, and had only time to escape to the Castelletto before the storm burst forth in 1488. The result of this upheaval was

¹ A. Gallo, in *Rer. It. Script.*, vol. xxiii. col. 291.

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to make Sforza Overlord of the Republic ; while Paolo was offered a pension of 6000 florins with permission to dwell in Genoa provided he kept out of politics and devoted his whole attention to matters concerning the Church.

With the advent of Charles VIII. the place of Genoa in European politics was completely altered. From a Power the Republic became little more than a strategic position in the wars of Europe and a source whence funds might be extracted at all times. Whatever changes occurred to Milan, France and Spain had their due effect on the maritime city. Thus it was that Genoa remained tolerably happy and prosperous under the Milanese rule until, on the death of Charles in 1498, Louis XII., a monarch of very different character, succeeded to the throne of France. In the following year he captured Milan : and, there being no other course open, Genoa, too, accepted him as Lord.

The burden laid upon the city by successive kings and dukes had been hard to bear, but that which the Genoese were now called upon to support surpassed all others, while the chances of regaining their freedom were proportionately less. It was evident that Louis meant to deprive the Republic of all free action ; and when Pisa, oppressed by the unceasing assaults of Florence, offered herself for the acceptance of the Genoese, the French monarch refused to allow the negotiations to be continued. Yet in other directions his conduct gave satisfaction, for when the *popolo* claimed the right to fill two-thirds of the public offices¹ Philippe von Ravenstein, the Governor, granted

¹ On the basis that the town was divided into the three orders ; " cioè in cittadini nobili, in cittadini mercadanti, e in cittadini artefici, le due parti dei quali sono popolari " (Giustiniani, vol. ii. p. 616).

the request. Having unexpectedly gained their point they elected eight tribunes as an opposition to the government and seized the Riviera from Gian Luigi Fieschi who held it for France.

Louis was at war with Spain and too occupied at the moment to be able to punish the misdeeds of the tribunes ; but when the King of Spain died in 1507 Louis marched on Genoa in person, refusing to hear the ambassadors whom the Republic now thought fit to send in the hope of making terms. The position was desperate, and knowing that little clemency might be expected from the attitude of the king, Paolo di Novi, a silk dyer, was elected Doge and urged to take whatever defensive measures were possible. His forces fled as soon as the vanguard of the French army reached the neighbourhood, and on April 28 Louis entered Genoa, where executions and banishments became the order of the day.

Such was the lot of the Republic so long as the fortune of war smiled on France ; but when the League of Cambrai launched its armies against Louis, the Genoese, favoured by the Pope, himself a native of Savona, grew bolder in proportion as the difficulties of France increased. At last, in 1512, the French were driven out, only to return on the death of the Pope ; and Genoa would have doubtless once more felt the weight of Louis's anger had he not been opportunely defeated at Novara in the following year. In place of the French the Republic was immediately overrun by Spaniards, three thousand of whom marched to Pontedecimo in the Polcevera valley in support of Ottaviano Fregoso, who was endeavouring to enter the city and seize the Dogate.

When Louis died in 1514 many of the European

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states declared war on his successor, Francis I.; and again Genoa the Distracted had to choose which of the contending parties should be asked to save her from submersion. Once more the lordship was given to France.

The position of Genoa was lamentable indeed. Her geographical situation forced her into the thick of the strife, where she bore the buffets without sharing in the advantages which accrued from the war. It is surprising that the citizens took sufficient interest in the welfare of the state even to attempt internal reforms; yet in 1521 the Doge, Ottaviano Fregoso, began that readjustment of the government which was brought to perfection in 1528 under Andrea D' Oria, with the permission of Charles V., King of Spain and Emperor, who succeeded Maximilian in 1519.

With the accession of Charles, the war received a fresh impulse. Milan, Lodi, Como, Pavia, Piacenza and Cremona were captured in quick succession, while Genoa was captured in 1522 and for two days Spaniards, Italians, Germans and—be it said to their shame—Fieschi and Adorni, sacked and burnt at their pleasure.

For the next five years the Republic was obliged to pay 8000 ducats a month to Spain for the privilege of being a dependent state. When it is added that during these years the plague was at its height in the city it seems incredible that it should have contrived to live through the storm.

France was disposed of for the time being by the capture of Francis at Pavia in 1525, and the Pope promoted a Holy League with the object of driving the Spaniards from Italy; and among other things of restoring the *Signoria* of Genoa to France. Andrea

D' Oria, then in the service of Francis, seized the Riviera, blockaded the city by land and sea and prevented the arrival of a relief fleet from Spain. At length, and for the last time until the wars of Napoleon, Genoa surrendered to a foreign lord, and once more accepted Francis as her master in 1527. That monarch, profiting by past failures to hold Genoa with a firm grip, resolved to reduce the opulent city by setting up Savona as a free port and rival. The harbour was dredged and fortifications thrown up to the dismay of the Genoese: and even the entreaties of Andrea D' Oria, Admiral of France, were of no avail to move Francis from his purpose. It has been claimed for Andrea that his sole object in accepting French employment was to free Genoa from Spain; and though it is a question which must be more fully considered elsewhere, it is clear that one reason for his secession to Spain was the resolute opposition of France to the Republic. His first act on becoming admiral in chief of the Spanish navy was to free Genoa from her French masters and to give the city what it had not possessed since the days of Simone Boccanegra—a properly and self-elected government free from the interference of foreigners.

Much had been written concerning the liberty which Andrea D' Oria gave back to the Republic; and the last word has, perhaps, still to be said. It is true that while he lived his personality had an undue weight in the deliberations of the *Consigli*, yet the constitution which permitted it was drawn up by men who had been appointed before he came as a deliverer. This is a point of the greatest importance in summing up the position. It is also true that Genoa was placed in a state of moral dependence on

HISTORICAL SURVEY, 1339-1528 49

Spain; but it must be remembered that the days when Europe was split up into small states of approximately equal strength were gone. Genoa was surrounded by the vastly superior powers which had grown up in the west and south; and it was absolutely necessary for the Senate to have a strong ally in the background. It suited Andrea D'Oría that Spain should be that ally, and it suited Charles perhaps even more: for throughout all the turmoil the Banca di San Giorgio, as we shall see later, stood unwavering, while the public treasury was in the safe keeping of eight *Procuratori*, who were themselves controlled by the *Censori*. While Genoa remained the ally of the Emperor her fleets, her admirals, her harbour and the vast riches of her nobles¹ were at his service. Should other ways into Italy be denied him, there was always the "Door of Italy"—Genoa—open to admit him to the coveted land. To acknowledge Charles as her lord seemed the only way for La Superba to escape submersion.

It was impossible to place the insignificant Republic on a basis of complete independence. But it was possible to bring about a condition in which the city might be free to elect its own Doges, to promulgate its own laws and to see that they were obeyed.

This Andrea D'Oría did, and therefore it is that he is fully entitled to that proud name which a grateful people gave to him: "Father and Liberator of his Country."

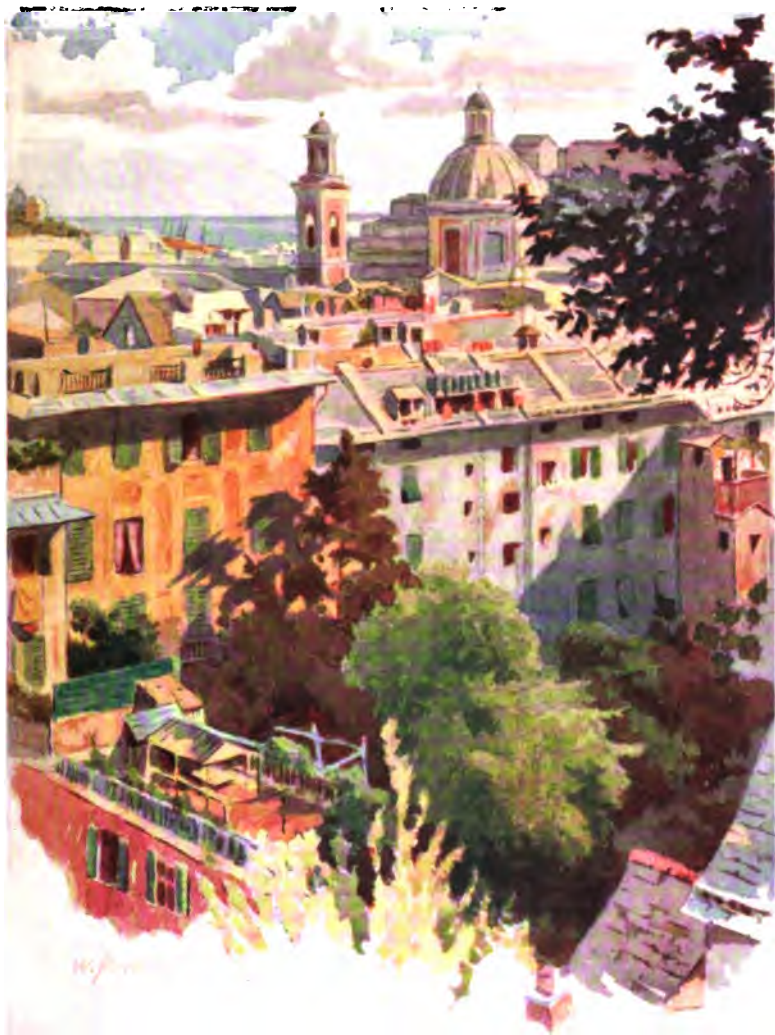
¹ In 1626 the Spinola family alone are reputed to have held possessions worth 16,000,000 lire, while their palaces in Genoa and Sampierdarena were twelve in number.

CHAPTER III

HISTORICAL SURVEY, 1528 TO 1797

THE events following immediately after the arrival of D' Oria and which preceded the reconstitution of the state may be dismissed with few words. The French Governor had retired to the Castelletto to await assistance from outside, so that it was imperative that prompt action should be taken to prevent the recapture of the city. Filippino D' Oria attacked the Castelletto with all the available forces of the Republic, when the arrival of a herald announcing the approach of François Bourbon with 4000 men and summoning the town to surrender on pain of "war, fire, and of all possible tortures and cruelties," obliged the Genoese to leave the siege and man the walls. With great difficulty the Genoese were restrained from killing the bearer of such a message on the spot; but wiser counsels prevailing he was led through the streets to judge for himself whether the defences were in good order and well equipped, and told to carry back news of all that he saw to Bourbon. Wherever he went the streets were thronged with pike and crossbowmen and with men at arms; and in order to enhance the impression, each group, as soon as the French emissary had passed hurried away by back alleys to form up elsewhere along the route.¹

¹ Bonfadio, *Annales*, sub anno.



VIEW OF GENOA FROM THE PUBLIC GARDENS

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As a consequence of this ruse the herald hastened back with the information that there must be at least 8000 men in Genoa and that to make the attack would be an act of the utmost folly. Bourbon marched away, and Trivulzio, the Governor, shortly afterwards surrendered.

Savona, protected by the new walls which Francis had built, was still held in force, but when D' Oria advanced upon it the Governor sent to treat for a surrender, should help not arrive by a certain date. No assistance being forthcoming the Genoese took possession of it; and though at first it was suggested that the town should be completely wiped out of existence and the very rocks blasted so that the sea might conceal its site, when the rage of the Republic had in some measure abated it was decreed that the walls should be destroyed and the harbour filled with stones; that the chief citizens should proceed to Genoa and there remain at the pleasure of the Senate; and that the Genoese Podestà should have full powers in all things concerning the regulation of the city.

Ovado, Novi, and Gavi were won back in quick succession, and Genoa was once more mistress of all those territories which for one cause or another had been snatched away. In the city itself the twelve Riformatori who had already been elected during the Governorship of Trivulzio proceeded with the great work of reform; and the outcome of their deliberations was the celebrated Law of the Alberghi, by which most of the nobles were obliged to sink their family names and attach themselves to one of the twenty-eight *casate*, or clan families. This law is best described in the words of the report issued by the Riformatori themselves.

“Whereas it is agreed that nothing has been so hurtful to our city as the continued discords and factions of the citizens, by which the said city has been destroyed, harassed and torn, and in a manner completely ruined ; and whereas we are desirous that as far as possible the memory of such things shall be blotted out from the minds of the citizens, and that even their names shall be done away with ; and whereas experience has taught us that nothing is more dangerous to the welfare of the state than these divisions : we decree that in all future elections of Magistrates, and in the regulation of all civic business no regard shall be had either to faction or ‘colour.’ Among those citizens who direct the affairs of the Republic there shall be but one order and rank, and the names of *popolare* and *nobile* shall be for ever hushed. Furthermore we decree that the management of the state shall rest with such citizens as by the worthiness of their lives, the virtue of their conduct and the long residence of their ancestors within the city stand pre-eminent : and we have caused to be inscribed among the nobles those alone who by public repute are known to be so qualified and fit to be numbered in the said rank and order. We have therefore elected to the aforesaid rank and order all those from each and every condition who according to the qualifications abovementioned are worthy of the name of noble, and they and their children in perpetuity shall be called *Nobili Cittadini* ; and these, albeit of one sole order by rank and condition, shall nevertheless be called by different names : and for this purpose they have been divided into Families, or as they are commonly called, into twenty-eight Alberghi, as appeareth more fully in the Book of

HISTORICAL SURVEY, 1528-1797 53

Descriptions; which number of families includeth every person who shall be entitled to the name of *Nobile Cittadino*.”¹

Having thus established who were to be nobles, and reduced them all to an equality, the Riformatori further decreed that each year seven new nobles might be created in the city and three in the Riviera.

There was to be a *Gran Consiglio* consisting of 400 members, of whom 300 were to be drawn by lot from the names of all nobles over the age of eighteen, and the remaining 100 were elected by vote.

¹ *Leggi et Riformi della Eccelsa Repubblica di Genova*.

“The law which changed a family into a collection of persons, or Albergo, was more than unjust, it was iniquitous. Those who entered these Alberghi were forced to renounce their own names, however honourable they might be, to extinguish their own memory and that of their ancestors, in order to assume the name of the congregation: so that, for example, a Biagio Assereto would be compelled to take the name of a Vivaldi for no other reason than that the latter name was borne by more persons. Many truly illustrious and most honourable houses preferred to remain in the number of the people: and it is related that of the two brothers Castelli, one made himself a noble under the title of Grimaldi, while the other remained a man of the people under his Christian name Giustiniano” (Celesia, *Conspiracy of Gian Luigi Fieschi*, English Version).

The Alberghi seem to have existed in the fourteenth century, when there were thirty-five (Imperiale, *Caffaro e suoi tempi*, p. 314). They were reduced to twenty-eight by the Riformatori, who decreed that only those families which had six collateral branches (*sei capi di famiglia*) should remain as Alberghi. This course gave preponderance to the older nobles, as only five of the *popolari* families were eligible; the Giustiniani, de Fornari, de Franchi, Sauli and Promontorio. The rich families of the Adorni and Fregosi were rigorously excluded. The families which were absorbed were not forced entirely to sink their identity, as Bonfadio, speaking of certain officers in 1529 mentions their names as Sauli-Rapallo, Negrone-Morello, etc. The officers were respectively members of the Rapallo and Morello families who had been attached to the Alberghi of the Sauli and Negrone.

There was to be a *Minor Consiglio* of 100 members, elected by vote from the *Gran Consiglio*, and most of the powers of the larger council were delegated to the *Minor Consiglio*.

The most notable regulation was that which restricted the power of the Doge. Nine *Senatori* were to be elected, and "one of them was to be of superior dignity and responsibility; but in authority equal to the others; who should be called the Doge."¹ The other eight, who were to be called *Governatori*, or *Senatori*, were equal to the Doge in all except name, and all edicts and decrees had to be issued by "the Doge and Governors of Genoa." The Doge and Governors held office for two years, at the expiration of which period they passed automatically into the Magistracy of the *Procuratori*, consisting of eight members, who had charge of the public treasury.

Finally the Riformatori instituted an office consisting of five *Censori*, or *Supremi*, whose duty it was to watch over the behaviour of all the other Magistrates, and to call them to account whenever necessary.

Andrea D' Oria, in recognition of his services, was to be *Censore* for life.

The new system of government, although it contained within itself the germs of future disturbances, proved to be admirably suited to the requirements of the Republic: but while the internal regulation of the city was undisturbed by tumults for some years Italy was still the seat of war between Francis I. and Charles V.; while the Turks, relying upon the pre-occupation of both France and the Emperor, initiated

¹ *Leggi cit.*

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a campaign against the kingdom of Naples. These two wars produced a great dearth of foodstuffs in Genoa as well as elsewhere. France endeavoured to win over the Republic by sending grain into the city in 1541, but the requests accompanying this concession—that a French ambassador might be allowed to reside in Genoa and that the Republic would lend Francis a sum of money—were refused.

Whether the position of Andrea D' Oria in Genoa gave him undue influence in the Government of the Republic is debatable ground: but his popularity and the behaviour of his adopted son and heir Giannettino D' Oria gave deep offence to the head of the Fieschi family, Gian Luigi; and accordingly in 1546 the young Count headed a conspiracy by which the galleys of Andrea were to be captured as well as the city itself, and the old admiral placed at the mercy of the conspirators. The plot failed, as Gian Luigi Fieschi, in the execution of it, fell into the harbour and, being weighed down by his armour, was drowned.

The example set by Fieschi was followed in 1548 by Giulio Cybo; who, because Andrea D' Oria¹ refused to assist him in regaining the territories of Massa from his mother, Ricciarda, plotted the downfall of the Senate and the death of Andrea. The conspiracy was discovered, and when Cybo marched towards Genoa he was taken, tortured, and executed.

But far more significant of the instability of the Republic were the designs set on foot by Charles in the same year. Having failed in his attempt to erect a "protective" wall after Fieschi's conspiracy, he determined to take the city by surprise. It was suddenly announced that the King's son, afterwards

¹ See the genealogical table on p. 258.

Philip II., would visit Genoa in state ; and the intimation was accompanied with a request that 2000 foot soldiers and 2000 cavalry might be allowed to take up their quarters in the city as a guard of honour. Cosimo de' Medici at the same time expressed a desire to visit the Prince while in Genoa and asked permission to bring an escort of two regiments of horse and two of foot, which, he considered, would be necessary to protect him from the enemies of Florence during his journey. To the Spaniards Genoa replied that not more than twenty men should enter the gates, but that five hundred might lodge in Sestri : Cosimo was informed that as he was coming among friends his escort would be unnecessary. Finding that the Genoese were not to be deceived Cosimo postponed his visit indefinitely, and when Philip arrived he was obliged to be contented with feasting and ceremonies and to return to Spain without having achieved his object. Indeed, at one moment it seemed likely that the visitors would be set upon and massacred, for when the Spaniards had arrested one of their own number for murder and were leading him through the streets under a guard of eighty men, the mere sight of armed Spaniards so infuriated the Genoese that Andrea D' Oria caused himself to be borne through the streets in a litter before the populace was quieted.

It was part of the policy of France at this period to wound Spain through Genoa, and as the city itself appeared well prepared to resist any attack against its walls, Henry II., who had succeeded to Francis in 1547, did all that lay in his power to foster the rebellion which broke out in Corsica in 1553 under the leadership of the brave but ill-

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starred Sampiero di Bastelica. Four years later Corsica was annexed to France, but at the peace of Câteau-Cambrésis, signed in 1559, the island reverted once more to the rule of Genoa. The Corsicans, robbed of French aid by the terms of this treaty, fought on obstinately until Sampiero was ambushed and treacherously murdered by his wife's brothers; and in 1569 an amnesty was granted to the rebels.

The law of 1528, by which one single order of nobles was established had been modified in 1547 by the Law of the *Garibetto*, which enacted that the two *Consigli* were to be elected by vote instead of by lot. The effect of this was that as long as the nobles created in 1528 outnumbered the newer ascriptions which were made annually after that date, they could, by judicious voting, keep all the power in their own hands: and moreover, relying on the loose wording of the law which enacted that ten new nobles "might" instead of "must" be made in each year, they kept the number of ascriptions as low as was consistent with safety; looking with contempt on those of recent creation and under the party name of *Nobili Vecchi* forming what was known as the Portico di San Luca, from the place of meeting. The *Nobili Nuovi* held together with equal tenacity and collected into the Portico di San Pietro; while the richer members of the *popolo* class, whom the *Nuovi* diligently incited against the *Vecchi* on the score that many of them ought to have been ennobled according to the law, and that only the action of the Portico di San Luca had prevented it,¹ formed themselves into a new faction called the Portico del Popolo.

¹ Spinola, *Commentarii delle Cose successe a Genovesi*, p. 41.

The greater states of Europe looked on the approaching conflict, each waiting for a moment which might force Genoa into their own hands. Spain, indeed, offered to "arbitrate," but the opposing parties wisely declined this service and devoted themselves to warlike preparations. The Senate issued a decree that all mercenaries in the city were to be sent away and any person found bearing arms was to be shot. But when the Vecchi brought in troops under a convenient pretext the Nuovi and Popolo combined against them and seized all the strategic points and defences. They compelled the repeal of the law of 1547: and the Vecchi finding themselves worsted for the moment, fled the city.

While Spain supported the Vecchi and France favoured the Nuovi, the only stable point in the Republic was Morone, the Papal Legate. Both parties professed themselves eager for peace, yet took care to offer such terms as should prove unacceptable to the other. The Pope threatened to excommunicate Philip of Spain, Gianandrea D' Oria and all the Vecchi in vain; they replied by capturing Porto Venere, Rapallo, Novi, Ovada and Voltaggio, causing considerable perturbation in the city. At length it became evident even to the Nobili Vecchi that to persist in this suicidal war would inevitably afford to Spain the opportunity she sought of seizing Genoa itself; and both Vecchi and Nuovi agreed to submit to the arbitration of Morone and the Spanish and Imperial Ambassadors.

As a result it was decreed in 1576 that all the citizens admitted to the government should be of equal rank and that all the *aggregati* should be equal in rank to the oldest of the Vecchi. It was also



THE CHURCH OF SANT' AMBROGIO

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agreed that all who had dropped their own names should once more assume them.

For more than a century the House of Savoy had been steadily increasing in power and importance. Under Amadeo IX. in 1465 the Counts had changed their title for that of Duke; and when Carlo Emanuele succeeded to the throne in 1580 and married the daughter of Philip II. of Spain, he seemed likely to prove a troublesome neighbour to the declining Republic. Genoa, indeed, was in a sad quandary, fearing at any moment to be engulfed by Spain or France; and now that Savoy was allied with the former by marriage the outlook was more uncertain still. Carlo Emanuele was a man of ambitious character, and initiated a scheme of expansion by purchasing Oneglia from the D' Oria and seizing Saluzzo from France. Nor was this the only blow which the Republic was called upon to bear, for Spain had already taken away Finale and endeavoured to set it up as a rival to Genoa, as the French had done with Savona.

But the astute Savoyard was not long in discovering that while he did most of the work the larger portion of the profits resulting from the war accrued to Spain, and in 1613 Carlo Emanuele transferred his allegiance to France, so that when, ten years later, Genoa and Savoy came to blows for the possession of Zucarello, a small town in the hills above Albenga and on the confines of the two states, Savoy was supported by France while Philip immediately placed his vast resources at the service of the Republic. Genoa refused the offer, suspecting that the assistance of Spain might lead to fresh slavery. The Spanish governor of Milan, however, held 25,000 men on the

borders of Lombardy ready to attack the Franco-Savoyards, and by menacing their communications rendered the advance on Genoa an undertaking of the greatest risk. The city itself threw up a new line of defences.

It is strange that with the enemy at their gates the Genoese could not forego their love of pageantry. Ovada, Gavi, Novi had fallen; the vanguard was already at Rossiglione; yet we find the Commissioners writing to the Senate in 1626 and drawing up the ceremonial for laying the foundation stone of the new walls. There is to be a magnificent procession of the Magistrates and clergy to the Lanterna, where Mass is to be sung in the open air: and at the Mass "and likewise at the moment when the foundation stone is laid there must be a great number of singers and musicians, and besides those who belong to the churches it will be as well to command the presence of other musicians. At the elevation of the Host, and also at the moment of laying the stone, all the guns of the city, the Molo and at the Lanterna shall fire a salute, as well as those on the galleys, which are to collect near the Lanterna when the sea is smooth, to do honour to the event. And if there be any private galleys, or ships belonging to foreign fleets in the city, they shall be invited to do the same."¹

The war thus begun with Savoy dragged on with varying activity. The French and Savoyards were too distrustful of each other to be able to make a serious advance, and they dared not proceed beyond Rossiglione lest the Spaniards in Milan should cut their lines of communication. When France and Spain withdrew their support in 1626, Savoy con-

¹ Olivieri, *Medaglione Storico Genovese*.

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tinued the campaign unassisted, while Genoa had to combat the forces of the Duchy as well as traitors within the city. The conspiracy of Giulio Casare Vacchero in 1628 was designed to place the Republic in the hands of Savoy, but though Carlo Emanuele withdrew at the last moment Vacchero continued to plot on his own behalf. His machinations were discovered, and Vacchero being found guilty was executed and his house destroyed. The spot where it stood remains to this day a desolate waste.

The position of the Republic was worse than it had ever been. Though a temporary peace was made with Savoy in 1633, that state constituted a perpetual menace to Genoa : and to add to the unrest a conspiracy headed by Gianpaolo Balbi, by which the French were to be introduced into the city, was discovered in 1648. The question of Finale, too, grew hourly more pressing ; for the arrogant behaviour of the Finalini, basking in the favour of Spain, threatened to involve Genoa in fresh troubles with that power. As if these misfortunes were not sufficient, an outbreak of plague in 1656-57 depopulated the city and carried off one hundred thousand victims in Genoa and the Riviera.

Ten years later hostilities with Savoy reached an acute stage, and though the whole of the fighting was along the frontiers of the rival states there arose a third conspiracy under the leadership of Raffaele della Torre which threatened, if successful, to place the Republic in the hands of Carlo Emanuele II., in 1671. Happily for Genoa, however, the plot was revealed by one of the conspirators, and della Torre fled for his life ; while the Savoyard armies, led by mutually distrustful generals, were attacked in detail and

gradually pressed back. A peace ensued between the two belligerents in 1673, by which neither side gained the smallest advantage.

The accession of the warlike Louis XIV., surnamed the Great, to the throne of France in 1643 steeped Europe in wars which only terminated at the conference of Nimwegen in 1678, as the result of which Louis made advantageous treaties with Holland, Spain, and the German Princes. Throughout these campaigns Genoa had looked on and trembled, careful that no action on her part should bring the Republic into the struggle. But, at the zenith of his power, Louis determined to find an excuse for attacking her; and did not have to seek in vain. The Fieschi, banished after the conspiracy of 1547, had attached themselves to his court, and Louis demanded that their broad lands should be restored to the family. He commanded the Genoese to disarm four galleys which had been equipped against the Algerian pirates, pretending to believe that they were intended to serve Spain in the war against France which broke out in the year 1683. With these and similar requests the Republic refused to comply, and accordingly a fleet of more than a hundred sail entered the harbour in 1684 and kept up a bombardment for eleven days. The Senate remained heroically obstinate, and the French ships were obliged to sail back to France without having accomplished their object.

It was but a brief respite, however; and when Spain made a treaty with France in August of the same year, there was no other course open than that of submission. The Pope agreed to intercede with Louis, but that monarch replied that he would make no terms unless the Doge and four of the Senatori

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presented themselves at Versailles to crave pardon in person ; a bitter pill which the helpless Republic was forced to swallow. The lawyers were called upon to prove that the Doge, "though a member of the Government did not in himself on that account represent the Republic";¹ but such a quibble deceived nobody, and both the Doge and Signoria keenly felt the disgrace.

On May 15th, 1685, the Doge and four Senators presented themselves at Versailles where Louis received them in great state, and on the 26th they returned to Genoa quietly and without any public demonstration. By the terms then made the Fieschi were to be reinstated and paid one hundred thousand scudi ; the four galleys were to be disarmed and all treaties hostile to France annulled ; while the Spanish troops in the city were to be sent away. France seems to have aimed at making Genoa a neutral port, favouring neither belligerent ; and accordingly, during the war which succeeded the League made at Augsburg for the purpose of opposing Louis in 1686, the Republic was allowed to play the part of a spectator. It was the same with the war of the Spanish Succession ; and when peace was signed at Utrecht in 1713, the Duke of Savoy, Vittorio Amadeo II., became King of Sardinia, and Genoa was allowed to buy back Finale from Spain for one million scudi, but still had to allow Spain the use of it in time of war.

The position in Corsica was, meanwhile, growing desperate, and the time fast approaching when the Republic was destined to lose this last shred of foreign

¹ " Il Doge (era) membro del Governo, ma non rappresentante perciò da sè la Repubblica " (Casoni, *Storia del Bombardamento*, etc., p. 244).

dominion. The Corsican loved his rifle and his vendetta, and the possession of the one rendered the pursuit of the other easy. The island was ruled by a governor who held absolute power for the two years he was in office, and had certain subordinates to assist him, selected from good but poor families in Genoa. As might be expected, their rule was tyrannous and unjust, and they contrived to grow rich at the expense of the Corsicans. The rights of the islanders were curtailed in every possible manner: they had no schoolmasters, and might not hold even the most insignificant post under the government. In 1715 the Senate ordered that no person should in future carry a gun, knife or stick; for since 1683—or within a period of thirty-two years—no less than twenty-nine thousand murders had been committed.¹ Previous to this date, gun licences had been granted and half the revenue from this source had gone to the government while the rest found its way into the pockets of the tax collectors. Now that guns were prohibited, the collectors were deprived of a portion of their incomes, and the poll tax was increased in order to reimburse them. Poverty stricken, living in a sterile country and scorning to till the few fertile patches, the Corsicans were miserably poor, and not only unwilling to pay the increased taxation, but actually unable to pay the old.

In 1729 rebellion broke out anew with such suddenness that the Genoese were taken by surprise. The island was overrun, and the Senate, to save the situation, hired eight thousand German troops to prevent the capture of Bastia. In 1733 a peace was made in which Genoa agreed to remit all the old taxes,

¹ Varese, *Storia della Repubblica di Genova*, vol. vii. p. 184.

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create an order of Corsican nobility with rights equal to those of the mainland, appoint a Minister of Corsican affairs who should reside in the Ligurian Capital, and establish a Chamber of Justice at Bastia. The friction continued, however, for the Republic regretted the concessions she had been obliged to make, and delayed executing them. Nor were the Corsicans less displeased. They looked for autonomy, and at the first sign of unrest the exiled chiefs returned to place themselves at the head of the revolt.

Two years later the island was declared a Republic, and the Genoese Statutes publicly burnt: she replied by blockading the island, and had nearly starved the Corsicans into surrender when Theodore Baron von Neuhoff, an adventurer, landed in Corsica with guns, food and ammunition in support of the rebels, and had little difficulty in persuading them to elect him as their king. This was in April of 1736, and while his funds lasted King Theodore was popular among his subjects; but as he had led them to believe that the supplies he brought were but the prelude to others, which, as a matter of fact, did not exist, his ingenuity was taxed to the uttermost in supplying excuses for the delay. As a last resource he would walk up a neighbouring hill armed with a monstrous telescope, and scan the horizon in an ostentatious manner for the fleet which he had excellent reasons to know was not there. He soon fell into disfavour, and on November 11th deserted his kingdom, saying that he "could not understand the delay, and thought it necessary to go in person and hurry them up." He proceeded to Amsterdam, and the Dutch most disrespectfully cast his Majesty into prison for debt, and would doubtless

have kept him there indefinitely had he not contrived to turn his misfortune to account by making treaties for commercial purposes between his captors and his kingdom, persuading the former to supply him with the sinews of war in return for gilded concessions. A second time Theodore went to Corsica, and increased the difficulties of Genoa by encouraging the rebels, forcing her to ask help from France. Not until the king's courage and funds again failed simultaneously, and he once more fled, did the insurgents lay down their arms.

An attempt to collect the taxes threw the island once more into a blaze (1742), and in January of the following year Neuhoff returned to Corsica, but immediately, and finally, retired.¹

The war dragged on until in August 1744 peace was made, in which gun licenses were again granted, all past taxes were rescinded, and the islanders permitted to have a share in the government.

In the last great European struggle Genoa had contrived to remain neutral, but when the War of the Pragmatic Sanction broke out in 1744 the Republic threw in its lot with France, Spain and Naples, against the united forces of Sardinia, Austria and England. At the outset the allies of Genoa advanced rapidly into Italy, hoping to seize on Parma and Piacenza. But when at a later stage of the conflict the Spanish army holding Tortona suddenly withdrew into Savoy, Genoa lay unprotected against the approaching Austrians. The Spanish forces in the neighbourhood

¹ This singular person eventually died in London after being incarcerated for debt, appropriately enough in the King's Bench prison. He lies buried in St. Anne's, Soho, where his tombstone, with an epitaph by Horace Walpole, may still be seen.



GARDEN OF THE VILLA ROSAZZA

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of the city fell back, and in December 1746 the enemy, under Botta-Adorno, encamped near the Polcevera. Resolutely clinging to its policy of not offending anybody, Genoa readily agreed to all that the Austrians demanded. The gates were given into their hands ; Gavi was to be ceded ; the Doge and six senators were to go to Vienna to demand pardon, and an enormous sum was to be paid over as tribute.

But while the attitude of the Senate was reflected by these concessions, the people by no means acquiesced in them, and it required little to stir them into active resistance. They complained that they were unable to collect sufficient money to pay the tribute. To this Adorno replied that " fire and the sword were magical things for raising money," while the Austrian soldiery added to the smouldering resentment by taking all they wanted, and paying as little for it as they felt inclined, which in most cases was nothing at all.

Elsewhere the Austro-Sards were attacking Antibes, and sent to Botta-Adorno for siege guns. He had none : but those from the battery on Carignano were dragged to the harbour, while the Genoese looked on sullenly at the process. One of the mortars became embedded in the muddy slime of Portoria, and when the Austrians with blows and gibes forced the bystanders to help drag it along, the pent-up feelings of the people broke all bounds. A youth named Ballila, cruelly beaten by an Austrian, suddenly cried, " O che l' inse ! " (Oh that someone would begin !) and struck his tormentor dead to the ground ; and in a moment the Austrians were set upon with irresistible fury. Hurrying breathlessly to the Palazzo Pubblico the people demanded arms from the Senate, saying,

that "if the government did not know how to defend itself, let it trust in the people and they would save them." The Senate refused to listen, and even repulsed an attack on the armoury, giving throughout a miserable exhibition of cowardice and indecision. Not daring to help the insurgents, they would not assist the Austrians, who were obliged to beat a hasty retreat. Throughout the whole of the following day their attacks against the walls were heroically repulsed by the people, who again demanded arms; and, receiving none, at last broke into the shops and took what weapons they could find. Heavy guns were dragged up the steep steps of Pietraminuta, while the Università was used as headquarters, and protected by two guns entrenched in the middle of the Strada Balbi.

On December 10th the Austrians delivered a general assault on the city. Their guns swept the Strada Balbi, the Borgo di Prè and Sottoripa, while the Genoese replied with vigour from Pietraminuta and Castelletto. Every able-bodied man and boy, save only the cowardly Senate shut up in the Palazzo Pubblico, joined the fighting line; and while the men fought, the women and children collected in the churches where the priests exhibited the Sacrament as a means of stimulating the earnestness of their prayers. The bells were rung furiously, making a din which almost drowned the booming of the guns, and hid the cries of the dead and dying. Austrian discipline was powerless against the reckless daring and determination of the Genoese, and the attack failed. "On that tenth day of December Genoa awoke in Austrian thralldom; she retired to rest Genoese and free."¹

Varese, *op. cit.* vol. viii. p. 105.

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Only twelve Genoese were missing, while 1000 Austrians were killed and 4000 taken prisoner.

The mortar which had stuck in the mud became an object of worship ; and a few days later, placed on a gilded car and covered with banners and costly embroideries, it was drawn by eight milk white horses through the most populous streets. One great rose was stuck in the muzzle, from which fluttered a pennon with the name of the Virgin upon it. In front there went a company of grenadiers, and behind it a troop of sappers with silver spades : then two battalions of infantry with their bands, and two hundred men on horseback with helmets and corselets, dragging the captured Austrian banners in the dirt. The streets were decorated with arches and hangings, while a tempest of flowers fell from the neighbouring houses. The day was given over to rejoicings, and a hymn written in honour of the mortar, beginning :—

“Bello Mortà, care Mortà, mè coeu,
Che de baxate no me so sazià,
Donde voeilo moè fàte portà
Quello brutto abbrascào Botta la goeù?”¹

Early in the following year the Austrians returned to the attack, and though they were driven back, the *popolo*, believing that the Senate had been in collusion with them, turned their wrath against the Palazzo Pubblico. In the meanwhile the position of the Austro-Sards around Genoa was growing untenable, owing to the steady advance of the French and

¹ From *Cadenna zeneise dro seignor Gallin* ; MS. in the Beriana Library, Genoa. Roughly translated it runs : “Sweetest Mortar, dearest Mortar, I could embrace you all day and never tire. Oh wherever did that ugly lantern-jawed Botta want to have you taken?” It is impossible to reproduce exactly the exquisite meaning of “brutto abbrascào.”

Spaniards, who, by the capture of Ventimiglia, secured their line of march, and obliged the Sardinians to withdraw to protect their own territories ; while the Austrians, left without the support of their allies, retired into Lombardy. The English fleet which had been diligently blockading the harbour also withdrew, and the Republic entered upon a fresh period of rest, which was strengthened by the peace signed at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748.

The fast dying Republic had still one more blow to submit to, the loss of Corsica, before the final catastrophe of the Revolution ended her career.

The Corsicans had taken the opportunity afforded by the war to raise another insurrection, and Genoa was reduced once more to hiring French troops, not for the recapture of the island—that seemed hopeless—but as a garrison in those parts which had not been lost. In 1760 Corsica declared war on Genoa, so low had the Republic fallen. Seven battalions of French troops were sent to the island for four years, and when at the end of that period the French refused to allow the garrison to remain any longer, Genoa was face to face with the unwelcome choice of granting Corsica its freedom or of handing it over to France. Out of hatred Genoa chose the latter course, and on May 15th, 1768 the island was ceded to France, and ceased to be Genoese.

It remains to describe the closing scenes. Genoa, impotent as she had become through force of circumstances, was obliged to look on and tremble at the alliance made by Europe against the aggressiveness of the French. The Republic pretended a neutrality she was powerless to enforce, while war raged all around her. English and French ships

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frequented the harbour, and endeavoured to force the Republic into declaring for one side or the other. The English cut out a French ship under the very walls, and the Genoese threatened to fire on them, "but they had not the courage to do so, and the *Signori supremi* fortunately discovered that the command had been given by the Minor Consiglio, when there were not a proper number of members present; and it was accordingly withdrawn."¹

France pursued more insidious methods of preparing the way, and her secret agents were busy fostering the Republican spirit within the walls. Already the *Carmagnola* rang through the streets, and to counteract the signs of unrest it was decreed "that all who lifted their heels higher from the ground than was required by the simple act of walking" should be arrested.

At length Genoa threw in her lot with the victorious armies of Napoleon in 1797, and nothing would satisfy the new allies but that the city should become a Democratic Republic. On many occasions the upholders of the new and old regimes came to blows, and on May 22nd civil war broke out in earnest. Ponte Reale, Acquasole and San Tommaso with the harbour batteries were taken by the Republicans, and tricolours appeared everywhere as if by magic. Those who supported the old order of things organised a defence force, and a battle ensued between the "Vivamaria"² supporting the government and the Republicans in Piazza de' Banchi. The Republicans were defeated, and the houses of the French robbed

¹ Gaggiero, *Compendio delle Storie di Genova, 1777-1797*, p. 93.

² So called from their war cry of "Viva Maria, viva la nostra Repubblica, morte ai Patriotti!" (Republicans).

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the palaces. Most of them were destroyed before nightfall, and the statues of Andrea and Gianandrea D' Oria in front of the Palazzo Ducale, re-named the Palazzo Nazionale, were broken in pieces. To complete the inauguration of the new government the robes, decorations and throne of the Doge were taken in procession to the Piazza Acquaverde, and there burnt upon the ashes of the still smouldering Libro d' Oro.

It was in the midst of these riotous scenes that Semeria, the writer of the *Storia Ecclesiastica*, returned to Genoa; and his account of what he witnessed is a very vivid word-picture. "Entering the city," he says, "in the hope of obtaining a lodging, I found all the shops and houses shut, and going a little way forward to find out why all the people were singing, I was taken hold of by a soldier and pushed into a procession which he told me was going to the Piazza di Fontana Verde (*sic*) to plant the Tree of Liberty. Seated upon a triumphal car I saw a damsel dressed like the Goddess of War, who, they said, represented Liberty. She was surrounded by ardent democrats. A huge crowd both preceded and followed the car, consisting of men and women, rich and poor, nobles and commoners, priests and friars, in the wildest confusion; and they called out to me, 'Now we are all citizens of equal rank!' All of them were singing; and I, although I was so tired as to be scarcely able to stand, sang with the others more in grief than of my own desire:—

" 'Un dolce amor di patria
Si pianti in questi lidi
Ognun s' allegri e gridi
Viva la Libertà !

E da innalzarsi l' albero
S'abbassino i tiranni
Da suoi superbi scranni
Scenda la nobiltà !"¹

¹ Semeria, *Storia Ecclesiastica*, p. 116. "A true love of the Fatherland implants itself on these shores. Let everyone rejoice and shout, Long live our Liberty ! Let us raise the Tree of Liberty : let the tyrants be humbled, and let the nobles come down from their haughty positions."

CHAPTER IV

THE CHURCH OF SAN SIRO

THERE are buildings in Genoa which present far more interesting features than the church of San Siro. It is neither the oldest nor the most magnificent among the churches: yet as it was the primitive cathedral, and the court where the Bishop-Lord presided, and where the Genoese parliaments were held, it is the first building in the city to claim attention.

The four oldest churches in Genoa are those of Sta. Maria del Castello, San Lorenzo, San Michele Arcangelo (now incorporated with S. Stefano degli Archi), and San Siro, formerly dedicated to the SS. Apostoli. There are no records to show when they were founded, but it is clear that they were all in existence at least as early as the tenth century. A little more light filters through into the history of San Siro from the accounts of the life of Syrus himself, which are still preserved; but it must be confessed that they are more or less legendary, and writers are by no means agreed even as to the century in which he lived.

The earliest event in the ecclesiastical history of the Republic is the arrival, in the year 79, of SS. Nazario and Celso, when the first public commemoration of the Last Supper was held in Genoa.¹ After

¹ Accinelli, MS. in R. Bibl. Universitaria, Genoa; and Giustiniani, vol. i. 117.

this visit the city seems to have been placed under the spiritual control of the bishops of Milan, and the greatest uncertainty prevails as to when Genoa herself became the seat of a bishopric. Jacobus de Varagine,¹ the only writer likely to have had any reliable evidence to go upon, says that Nazario preached in Genoa about thirty years after the Passion of our Lord, and either converted the citizens to Christianity, or if they were already converted, confirmed them in the faith; and that henceforward Genoa was called a *civitas* (*ex tunc autem civitas est vocatur*), and must therefore have had a bishop. "For properly speaking the word *civitas* is not used unless the city be so honoured. The names of these early bishops cannot be discovered; for the first bishop of whom we find mention is St. Valentine, whom we believe to have lived about the year 530 . . . but we believe that there were other bishops before him; for in the Legend of St. Valentine, it is said that the bishop being dead Valentine was elected to the vacant see. From this it is manifest that before St. Valentine there was already a bishop in Genoa." After him he places St. Felix, about 560; St. Syrus, about 580; and St. Romulus, about 600. Sabbatinus is the fifth.

But other writers neither agree with the sequence nor the dates given by Varagine; and while Grassi² and the Register of the diocese of Genoa say that Diogenes, who was at the council of Aquileia in 381, was the first bishop of Genoa, another writer³ states that all authorities are agreed in placing the

¹ *Chronicon Januense*; in *Rer. Script. It.*, vol. ix. col. 21.

² Grassi, *I Vescovi di Genova*.

³ Da Prato, *La Chiesa di San Siro*, p. 40.

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death of Salamone in the year 297, and that he was the first to occupy the see.¹

Be this as it may, it is very clear that Felix, Syrus and Romulus were among the earliest bishops, and that they succeeded each other in the order given: moreover it is evident that there were at least two

¹ Semeria (*Storia Ecclesiastica*, p. 44) gives: St. Salamone, St. Valentine, St. Felix (about 340), St. Syrus and St. Romulus. Accinelli, in the MS. already quoted, has: Salamone, Valentine (in 568), Felix, Romulus and Syrus. But he falls into another mistake in saying that Syrus was the first archbishop. Genoa only became an archbishopric in 1133, though it is true that the then bishop was also named Syrus. Canale, usually the most reliable of modern Genoese historians, even disagrees with himself, giving in separate places two different lists. He gives, apparently for the reader to choose from:—

Salamone, about 296.	Salamone, till 299.
Syrus, in 324.	Felix, 299-320.
Felix (?).	Syrus, 320-345.
Romulus (?).	Romulus, 345-353 ("perhaps").
Valentine (?).	Valentine, "mentioned in 367."

Banchero (*Il Duomo di Genova*, p. 53) follows the second list of Canale; but the *Registro della Curia Archivescovile di Genova*—published in vol. ii., part ii. of the *Atti di Storia Patria*—gives: Diogenes, 381; Valentine, end of fourth or beginning of fifth century; Salamone, first half of fifth century; Pascasius, 451; Eusebius (?) 465; Felix, end of fifth century; Syrus, first years of sixth century and died after 522. Then came the interregnum from about 589 to 645, during which the archbishops of Milan were resident in Genoa. John I. is the next, according to the *Registrum*, from 645 (?) to 680; and Romulus is relegated to the end of the seventh and beginning of the eighth centuries.

Grassi (*I Vescovi di Genova*) gives more details, saying that Diogenes was bishop in 381, "our first bishop, nor can it reasonably be maintained that the bishopric was created before that date." Valentine he places at the end of the fourth century, and remarks that he is not known chronologically, but is mentioned in the Liturgies. Salamone, in the first half of the fifth century; Pascasius, in 451; and the writer adds that he subscribed to the Encyclical of Eusebius, bishop of Milan in 465, at the Council of St. Hilary.

If faith is to be placed in the researches of da Prato (*La Chiesa di San Siro*), Romulus was bishop in 345, in which year he consecrated the church of St. Nicolò at Voltri. He died at San Remo in 356.

bishops before Felix ; for, in 1283, during some alterations to the high altar, three lead coffins were found one above the other. The upper one contained the remains of Syrus, and was inscribed :—

“✠ M.S. HIC REQUIESCIT CORPUS SANCTI SYRI EPISCOPI JANUENSIS. OBIT III KAL. JULII FILIUS AEMILIANI.”

The second bore the words :—

“✠ M.S. HIC REQUIESCIT SANCTUS FOELIX EPISC. IANUEN. QUI VIXIT AN. LXX. REXIT EPISCOP. XX. RECESSIT VII. ID. IULII.”

and was evidently the last resting-place of St. Felix. On the lowest coffin there was no inscription at all. We may conjecture that St. Valentine, whom Varagine tells us was the predecessor of Felix, lies buried in it; but until further documentary evidence is discovered, it is impossible to decide the question.

St. Felix, then, is the first bishop of Genoa who takes material form in the hazy background of the early centuries of Christianity. It was Felix who sent the deacon Syrus into the territory of Matuta to minister to the spiritual needs of the inhabitants, and by so doing unconsciously laid the foundation of the feudal rights possessed by later bishops in San Remo and Ceriana. When Felix died Syrus was called back to Genoa, and elected to succeed him. According to the legend, his work in Matuta was frequently accompanied by miraculous cures, and the not ungrateful Matutiani and Cerianaschi presented him with money and lands, so that by his means a considerable amount of property was transferred to the see at his consecration.¹ When he died he was canonised, and the church of the Apostles was re-dedicated under the name of San

¹ G. Rossi, *Storia di San Remo*, p. 78.

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Siro, either because he rebuilt it or because he was first buried there. More probably it was for the latter reason, for it is on record that the bones of the saint rendered the place so holy that nothing evil could rest within its walls. Indeed, on one occasion, when a notorious scoundrel had been buried there, two grisly spectres were seen leading the dead man politely but firmly out of the precincts, and sure enough he was found decently interred elsewhere the next morning. The building was popularly known for a long time as "the church of San Siro," and when it was reconsecrated he was adopted as the titular saint.

One event in the life of Syrus is commemorated by a tablet which is let into the wall over a shop window in the street leading up to the church from the Via di San Luca. On it the bishop is portrayed in low relief with an inscription to the following effect: "This is the well from which the most blessed Syrus, formerly bishop of Genoa, drove forth the basilisk, MCCCCCLXXX." The well, now covered over, formerly existed in the Piazza San Siro; and the date, 1580, must refer to the year in which the memorial was erected. The "basilisk" probably represents the Arian heresy, which Syrus successfully combated in Genoa and finally stamped out.

After Syrus came Romulus, if we may accept the circumstantial evidence afforded by the position of his coffin immediately above that of Syrus under the high altar.

It has been said that no dates can be assigned with any certainty to these early bishops; but one or two circumstances, when taken together, present what is perhaps more than a chance coincidence. Shortly

after the consecration of Romulus the worthy bishop fled from Genoa, and, so far as is known, never came back again. The date given by Varagine to this saint is "about 560," while from other sources we know that the succession was interrupted from about 589 to 645, owing to the fact that the Lombard invasion had forced the Milanese archbishops to take refuge in Genoa. Neither date, it will be noted, is clearly defined, and it may yet be proved that Romulus betook himself to Matuta when Honoratus, Archbishop of Milan, appeared in Genoa. There were no Genoese bishops during this irruption; and it does not appear to have been usual, even in primitive days, for a bishop to have deliberately deserted the work which he had taken upon himself, and for him to have still been accounted worthy.

At Matuta he lived the life of a hermit, choosing as his dwelling a cave about four miles inland; and here, amid reptiles and loathsome creatures, he spent the days in prayer, wearing a coarse hair shirt, and torturing his body with perpetual flagellations in the orthodox manner. At night he slept on the bare ground. But what he lost in bodily comfort he gained in spiritual power, and the fame of his miracles soon brought hundreds of pilgrims to his cell, suffering from all the ills that flesh is heir to. Whether he cured them all is not recorded; but we learn that after death his mortal remains were still more efficacious in restoring health to the sick: and as the blind received their sight, the lame the use of their limbs, and the dumb their speech, there must have been a good deal of cheerfulness in the neighbourhood during the time that his body was exposed to the public view. As was only natural, he was canonised; and became

after death the defender of the Matutiani as in life he had been their apostle. It is even averred that in one battle he had been seen fighting against the Lombards, wielding a monstrous sword in both hands, and leaving the dead and dying piled up on either side as he carved his way through their ranks.

When in later days the Lombards had ceased from troubling, and their incursions had been replaced by the raids of the Saracens, the resting-place of Romulus was exposed to continual dangers; and accordingly in 876 the bishop, Sabbatinus by name, resolved that the sacred remains should be brought to Genoa. A galley was sent to fetch them, and after being exposed to the veneration of the faithful for several days they were buried in the Cathedral of San Siro.

Such is the scanty history of the early bishops so far as it can be pieced together. Their power was temporal as well as spiritual, and until the consuls absorbed the whole management in affairs of state the bishops were the supreme governors. The *cintracus*, whom Ducange delightfully confuses with the Great Bell of the Commune, was his deputy, representing the bishop in the general assembly of the people, collecting the dues, publishing edicts, seeing that all fires were carefully protected on boisterous days, and performing a hundred other offices for the welfare of the *civitas*, *burgum*, *castrum*, and the whole *archiepiscopatus*.¹ The consuls, upon their election to office, swore allegiance to the bishop, and, indeed, resided in his palace. This form of government continued in force as late as 1190, though for nearly a century previously the consuls had ruled in company with

¹ Lambroso, *Sulla Storia dei Genovesi avanti il MC.*, p. 22. Canale, vol. i. pp. 232 *et seqq.*

the bishop or archbishop ; and from the beginning of the twelfth century the Great Seal bore on one side, "Januensis archiepiscopatus," and on the other, "Civitas Januensis." In 1190 the consuls were sufficiently strong to oppose the archbishop, and asserted their independence by refusing to reside in his palace, and by holding their courts in various parts of the city. From this time forward the power of the church steadily decreased, and though Oberto D' Oria and Oberto Spinola appealed to the archbishop for his sanction of the change in the government when they became Capitani of Genoa in 1270, it was little more than a matter of form ; and it is exceedingly unlikely that it would have made any difference if he had refused to recognise their action.

The see of Genoa became an archbishopric in 1133.

But the dim glories of bishops and archbishops have long since passed away from the church of San Siro. The earliest building—that in which Syrus was buried—had evidently disappeared in the tenth or eleventh century, for a new church was consecrated in 1023. From the date of the transference of the see to San Lorenzo in 985, until 1575 it was in the hands of the Benedictines, in which latter year the church, after having been allowed to fall into the uttermost decay, was given over to the control of the Theatines. Under them the present church was built, but the façade has been entirely modernised from the designs of Carlo Barrabino.

The interior is rich with examples of native art ; for the whole vault was painted by G. B. Carlone, and most of the chapels have at least one picture produced by the Genoese school. The perspectives of the roof are by Paolo Brozzi, and the panels in

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fresco by Carlone represent : (a) *The calling of St. Peter*, (b) his *martyrdom*, and (c) the *death of Simon the Magician*. The vault of the choir is filled with the *Glory of St. Syrus*, and in the apse is a fresco of *St. Syrus casting out the basilisk*. It must be admitted that the frescoes here are not as good as those by the same artist in the Annunziata, which will be considered in another place. The best here is the *Assumption or glory of St. Syrus*. Carlone also did the frescoes in the dome, but, as is the habit with most domes, the damp affected the work to such an extent that in 1760 the *Paradise* was retouched by Giambattista Chiappe. In the vaults of the transepts are *Christ carrying the Cross* (restored within the last century by Giuseppe Passano) and the *Vision of Constantine*.

The inside of the façade is the work of Rocco Pennone, and was done in 1641 at the expense of Agostino Pallavicino. Soprani¹ tells us that where the statue of St. Peter now stands was originally a statue of Pallavicino, and Alizeri² says that one of the two figures placed at the sides is that of Pallavicino. If this be true Soprani must be in error, for certainly neither of the minor figures was ever intended to occupy the central niche.

The first chapel on the right, called that of the Annunciation, was designed by Daniele Casella, a Lombard, and pupil of Taddeo Carlone. The picture over the altar, of the *Annunciation*, is by Orazio Gentileschi, of Pisa. The other pictures here, as well as the frescoes in the vault, are by Giovanni Luca and Girolamo Celle, but have no interest.

The next chapel is dedicated to San Gaetano,

¹ *Vite de' Pittori, Scultori ecc. Genovesi* (in life of Penrone).

² Alizeri, *Guida artistica per la Città di Genova*.

founder of the Theatines, and is rich with black marbles and gilt bronze ornaments. The *Assumption of San Gaetano* in the vault is by Domenico Fiasella, a painter of whom there is more to be said in another chapter.

The vault in the aisle outside the next chapel is noticeable as being painted by Gregorio de' Ferrari after his return from Parma, where he had been studying the works of Correggio; it is the first of the "corregiesques" in Genoa, and represents the *Assumption of St. Andrea Avellino*, to whom the chapel is dedicated. The picture over the altar is one of the most satisfactory canvases produced by D. Fiasella, depicting the death of the titular saint while celebrating mass. His face bears the pallor of death, and while the acolyte holds up his hands as in horror and consternation, an angel appears in the background bearing a scroll with the words, "I will go unto the altar of God." The frescoes in the vault are by Orazio de' Ferrari.

The fourth chapel is called the "Cappella delle Grazie," but contains little of interest. The marble angels beside the picture, by Tommaso Carlone, are not remarkable, and the Eternal wearing a tin hat, and seeming very vain about it, is calculated to interfere with the solemn devotions of the faithful. The aisle vault has frescoes by G. B. Carlone, and those in the chapel itself are by an unknown hand. The pictures on the walls are: *Birth of the Virgin*, by Aurelio Lomi, and the *Beheading of the Baptist*, painted by Carlo Bonone, a follower of the Carracci.

The fifth chapel on this side takes its name from the picture over the altar, which represents Christ with the Virgin placing the pall over the shoulders of



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the titular saint, San Nicolò di Bari. It is ascribed to a "follower of D. Fiasella." The angels in the vault were painted by G. B. Carlone, but the chapel is so dark, and they have suffered so much from time and damp, that it is almost impossible to make out their forms.

At the top of the aisle stands the chapel formerly known as that of the Crucifixion, from the picture by G. B. Paggi, which used to hang behind the altar, but is now no longer to be seen. The two pictures on the side walls, of the *Flagellation* and the *Scourging*, are by G. B. Capellino, a painter who, like many of the Genoese school, never settled down to one style. In his earlier works he followed the manner of his master Paggi; but in later years broke away from all precedent, and took to grossly exaggerating every detail. The expression of the faces in these two pictures is a case in point.

The choir contains a *Pietà* carved by Taddeo Carlone, which is said to be the largest group he ever attempted; and all the decorations here were carried out by him, or from his designs. The bronzes on the altar, hidden as a general rule by a modern frontal, are by Pierre Puget.

Continuing the round¹ of the church, the chapel at the top of the left aisle is one of the architectural works of Taddeo Carlone, and on that account is

¹ The order observed in describing the contents of churches throughout this book is as follows. Begin at the west end of right, or south, aisle, and proceed to its eastern extremity; then cross through the choir to the top chapel in the left aisle, and work down the same to the western exits. As a consequence readers are asked to bear in mind that while "third chapel on the right" refers to the third chapel on that side counting from the *western* end, "third chapel on the left" indicates the third chapel in the northern aisle counting from the *east* end of the building.

to be noticed, as architecture was an art in which few Genoese exercised their abilities, and not one rose above third-rate merit. The statues are also by Taddeo. The most interesting object here, a picture of the *meeting of Joseph and Mary* by Antonio Semino, is entirely covered up by a modern painting surrounded by an array of gilding wonderful to behold.

The second chapel on this side was founded by the Lomellini family, and takes its name from the *Nativity* over the altar by Cristoforo Roncalli, called "Pomerancio." It evinces a better appreciation of the requirements of composition and of light and shade than most of the paintings in Genoa. The rich marbles are by Giuseppe Carlone.¹

The next chapel is dedicated to Sta. Caterina of Siena, and the picture over the altar is of her mystic marriage. It was painted by Castellino Castello, but has been a little too generously restored in later years. In the vault there is a fresco by G. B. Carlone of the *Communion of Sta. Caterina*. The two pictures at the sides, of *St. John the Baptist* and *St. Jerome*, are by an unknown artist.

The vault of the next chapel (San Matteo) was decorated by Ventura Slimbene, but the work presents nothing to claim attention. The paintings on the walls, on the contrary, if not remarkable for their intrinsic merits, are interesting as being the only works of the Montanari brothers in existence. Their story has a moral, and may therefore be held worthy to grace these pages. The Montanari were apprenticed

¹ The history of all these many Carlone has been relegated to the chapter on the church of "Annunziata del Guastato," as the masterpieces of the family are to be found there. The reader will find a genealogical tree on p. 199.

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to Paggi, but happening to hear a friend criticising his work one day, and saying the unkind things which critics usually do say, these good youths hastily concluded that Paggi was so entirely and completely contemptible with regard to painting that they forthwith fled from his evil example and set up for themselves. But Paggi continued to thrive, while the Montanari, after completing these pictures in San Siro, paid the price of their rashness by receiving no commissions and rapidly sinking into oblivion.

In the last chapel but one there is a picture of the *Deposition from the Cross* by Pietro Sori; and it is strange to remark that while the work of this Sienese artist approaches almost to chiaroscuro, his pupil Bernardo Strozzi, "*Il Cappuccino*," was perhaps the most brilliant colourist of all the Genoese school. The fresco in the aisle vault, the *Call to Judgment*, is by G. A. Carlone.

The same artist decorated the vault of the next and last chapel, depicting therein the *Agnus Dei*. The rest of the works are by Bernardo Castello. His frescoes have nearly disappeared, but the three oil-paintings of *Christ disputing in the Temple*, *Joseph and Mary seeking the Holy Child*, and their *return*, are all in good preservation.

In the sacristy there are some pictures of interest: an *Annunciation*, by Domenico Piola; two canvases by G. A. Boni; a *Christ going to Calvary*, one of the best works produced by Bernardo Castello; and a very fine *Beheading of the Baptist* by D. Piola before mentioned. Besides these there are two other paintings by him, a *Virgin and Child* and a *SS. Gaetano and Andrea Avellino*. The sacristy also contains the

masterpiece of Gregorio de' Ferrari, *St. Francis of Assisi*, and the *Repose in Egypt*.

San Siro and the little Piazza in which it stands have both been witnesses of half Genoa's history. It was here that the first parliaments of the people were held, and for more than three centuries it was the place of assembly on all occasions of national importance. It was here that the bishops of Arles and Gratz preached the Crusades: hither came Simone Boccanegra in 1339 amid enthusiastic rejoicings on his election as the first Doge of Genoa. Once again Simone was carried to San Siro for a like purpose, in November 1356, on the day after he had driven the Milanese from the city. But they returned to the mastery in 1421, and ruled with an ever tightening grip until the Genoese were ready to rise under the slightest provocation. At last, when the Republic had sent out the gallant fleet under Assereto, which, in 1435, captured the Kings of Arragon and Navarre, Filippo Maria Visconti, Duke of Milan, brought about his own undoing by commanding that the captives were to be sent to Milan.

Then the long oppressed people rose, stung by the repetition of contumely and insult. The day they selected for the revolt was that on which the Governor was to be changed. It was January 25th, 1436, when Opizzino d' Alzate, the Ducal Governor, would go out of the city to meet his successor, Erasmo Trivulzio, after which both would return to Genoa with their suites. All emergencies were carefully prepared for by Francesco Spinola and Tommaso Fregoso: Spinola was to hold the gate while Fregoso directed the actions of the citizens.

Deep in conversation and at the head of a numerous

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train the two Governors rode through the Porta de' Vaccà and into the city ; but directly they had entered, Spinola hastily flung the great iron-bound gates to in the faces of the escort. Alone, and surrounded by a threatening crowd, the only chance of safety lay in immediate flight : Trivulzio made good his escape to the Castelletto, but d' Alzate set spurs to his horse and strove to reach his own palace, hotly pursued by his enemies. From every window, as he clattered down towards the Piazza di Fossatello, a shower of stones rained upon him ; and struck by many of the missiles, stunned and dizzy, he could scarcely bear up in the saddle, as the terrified horse bore him wildly into the Piazza San Siro, where at length he fell bleeding, battered and senseless to the ground. With loud shouts of triumph the crowd dashed at the shapeless body of their oppressor, and in a few moments Opizzino d' Alzate, "wounded with many wounds and cut to pieces, lay dead and naked before the church of San Siro."¹ A modest tablet on a neighbouring house bears record of the fact.

On one more occasion the Milanese came to grief in Genoa, and again San Siro was the chief scene of their discomfiture. In 1478 the Genoese rose against their self-invited rulers ; and as the Milanese had fortified the church, it was hotly attacked on all sides, and became the pivot of the battle. The building was set on fire, and while the flames leaped and roared, the infuriated combatants fought on grimly within the walls, and desecrated the holy places with deeds of blood and hatred.

But San Siro has seen less brutal doings than these. There was a time when Philip of Spain passed through

¹ Giustiniani, *Annali*, vol. ii. 351.

the Piazza on his way to hear Mass in the Cathedral. Then it was that the walls echoed to joyous cheers instead of the cry "Death to the Milanese!" then it was that a magnificent triumphal arch was raised on many columns, and over it a proud statue of the prince was placed while Victory crowned him and Jupiter and Apollo stood on either hand. These were days of high festival, for Philip had come on a visit of state with a fleet of fifty-eight galleys to carry his suite, and a gallant quinquere me for his own use ; and Genoa was eager to receive him fittingly. So when the prince set out on his way to San Lorenzo on a bright December day of 1548, he found the streets thronged with people, and the windows and balconies filled with richly-dressed dames and maidens, waiting to see him pass. The Spanish court was famous for its magnificence, and the sight which the Genoese had come out to see was one fair to look upon. First there came many Spanish and Italian cavaliers and gentlemen on horseback "in marvellous order," glittering with jewels and ornaments of gold and silver : then followed the princes, dukes, marquises, counts, barons and other nobles of the court, and after them the scarlet-clad cardinals, each with a band of servitors dressed in yellow silk with crimson and white embroideries.

"The Prince himself bestrode a magnificent Spanish jennet, white as snow and caparisoned with cloth of silver. He was wearing a mantle of black velvet lined with white velvet, and striped with white silk and gold, all of wondrous workmanship. His hose were of white satin and his cape of black serge, made after the Florentine fashion and ornamented in like manner to his mantle. His shoes were of white

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velvet, slashed and lined in the Spanish mode. On his head was a black velvet cap with a white plume which tossed bravely upon the air."¹

Another procession claims notice before leaving San Siro. It was the outcome of a great Mass which the *Compagnia della Morte* had celebrated in this church in 1646. There were five hundred lamps alight during the service, and the good priests were so uncommonly delighted with "the beauty and success" of the Mass that they were overcome with joy when the same *Compagnia* asked permission to hold their Corpus Domini celebration in San Siro.

Accordingly, on the night before the festival, all the bells of San Siro clanged without ceasing, keeping the neighbours from their sleep; and in the morning the Bishop of Savona came over on purpose to sing the Mass. The church was full of clerics, and there were two hundred of the brethren in their *cappe nere*. The streets were specially cleaned, and there were triumphal arches erected in the Piazza di San Luca. Every window along the route was adorned with rich hangings, and San Siro was decorated with velvet and gold.

A priest with the crucifix headed the procession, flanked by acolytes with candles. Then came the pages of the *Signori penitenti della Chiesa*, followed by one hundred gentlemen walking two and two, each with a garlanded taper in his hand. Behind them were the two hundred *cappe nere*, likewise with lighted candles, and after them a deacon in a rich tunic of silver cloth carrying the crucifix of the church. A score of Theatine monks, each in a stiff cotta, came next; then ten more monks wearing albs with richly

¹ *Archivio Storico Italiano*, third series, vol. xiv. p. 106.

worked orphreys. At the end of the procession walked the Bishop wearing a gorgeous cope and bearing the Host, while on either side of him there were deacons in dalmatics. The principal citizens and senators were there to carry a baldacchino of gold brocade over the Host: and as the bystanders and onlookers at the windows had armed themselves with flowers, and threw them "with much reverence and enthusiasm," the quantity of floral tributes which collected on the baldacchino caused its weight to be doubled, "to the great discomfort and vexation of the senators and noblemen."

The procession was greeted by fireworks (!) in Fossatello, and again on its return to San Siro.

CHAPTER V

THE PALAZZO DI SAN GIORGIO

THE brightest jewel in the diadem of "Genoa the Superb" is the old red brick building standing down by the water's edge, jutting out its loggia into the all too narrow roadway, and demoralising the traffic of Ponte Reale. That such an institution as the Bank of St. George could have existed, much less prospered, where townspeople and foreigners alike sowed

"sedition up and down the city ;
Picking up discontented fools, belying
The senators and government ; destroying
Faith among honest men, and praising knaves"

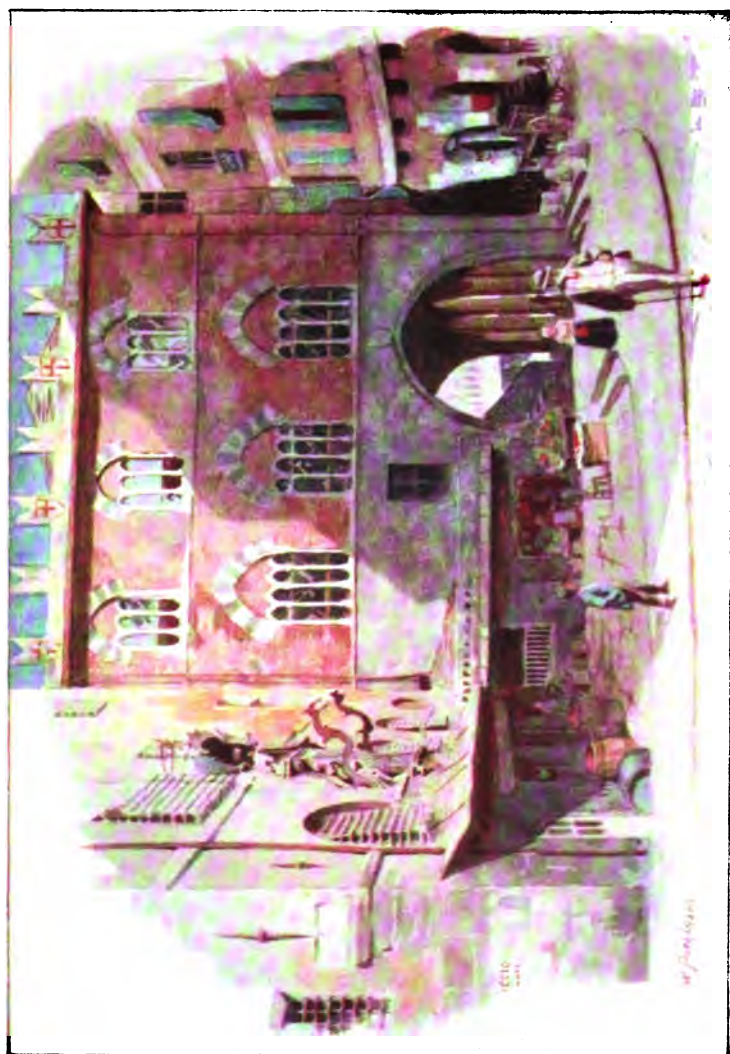
is one of the most perplexing features in the life of the state : for amid all the turmoil of external and civil upheavals the Bank pursued its unwavering course ; inspiring confidence, supplying funds when the State Treasury was exhausted, and taking over the management of the Colonies whenever the Republic itself was unable to protect them from the attacks of enemies.

The building was not erected for the purposes of the Bank, for properly speaking the organisation of the public debt did not take place until the ruddy brickwork was already softening its harsh outlines under the influence of time. It was only in 1451 that the ownership of the Palace was invested in the Governors of the Bank.

It had been erected as the *Palazzo del Capitano* by Guglielmo Boccanegra, the first to hold that office, in 1260; a fact which is duly set forth in an inscription¹ over the door, and from which we learn that the architect was a certain monk named Oliverius, to whom is also attributed the commencement of the Molo Vecchio. That the work was not finished when Boccanegra's rule ended so abruptly in 1262 is shown by the lions' heads which were taken from the Venetian fortress at Pantocratore in that year, and are built into the northern façade just over the arches of the loggia, to bear witness of a time when the Genoese held their own successfully against their rivals in the Adriatic. And as though the Republic desired not to lose an opportunity of proclaiming her victories, we may still see between the grimacing lions the holes in which were secured the fragments of Pisa's harbour chain.

Externally there remains very little of the original building, and that little has been thoroughly restored. Until the last half century the colonnades were blocked up with all manner of obstructions; the four-light windows under their arches of alternating brick and marble were replaced by rectangular openings of an unlovely, but doubtless useful, form; and those in the storey above were completely closed. The core of the buildings which surround the narrow courtyard is a part of the Palazzo erected by the monk.

¹ (✠ IN MI)LLENO BIS (CENTUM) DEC(IES QUOQUE SENO) URBIS P(RE)-SENTIS CAPITANE(US) ENS BUCANIGRA GUILLELM(US) FIERI ME JUSSIT. POSTM(OD)O FIGRA N(ON) CURA JUSSU(M) ME TRA(N)S-TULIT E(N)TIS IN USU(M) FR(ATER) OLIVERI(US) VIR ME(N)TIS ACUMINE DI(V)US. Part of this inscription is covered up; but the reading given here is taken from the work of Sig. F. Genala, *Il Palazzo di San Giorgio*, the author of which examined the tablet carefully, when the restoration of the building was in progress.



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The building has seen as many changes as the constitution of the Bank itself. It was enlarged in 1368, and after the reform of 1407 two rooms were added to the sea front. In 1451 the Palazzo was ceded to the Governors, and in 1535 was entirely renewed. The greater portion of the present building, however, dates from 1571. Of this date approximately is the fast fading fresco by Lazzaro Tavarone on the sea front, representing St George and the Dragon; and it used to be said that the charger of St George was the only horse to be seen in the city :—

“ Che à Zena no era ancora atro cavallo
Che quello che depento hemo in San Zorzo.”

Nor is it to be greatly wondered at that horsemen were few where the streets are most of them still so narrow that two pedestrians find scarcely room to walk abreast, and many of which break into a picturesque cascade of red brick or sea-pebble steps whenever there is a change of level. It must have been as difficult to thread the gloomy alleys with a chair or litter as it is to navigate the silent canals of Venice. Carriage traffic was almost an impossibility: and it was with some feeling of pride that a road was made in 1635 between Pegli and Voltri, where many of the Genoese had country villas, because the number of carriages in the neighbourhood had actually increased to twenty-five.¹

The great hall of the Palazzo, part of the work of 1571, has preserved the statues of those citizens, who, by bequeathing large sums of money to the state for the purpose of extinguishing the public debt, received

¹ Belgrano, *Vita Privata de' Genovesi*; and Accinelli, *Compendio della Storia di Genova*.

the reward of their good deeds in the shape of a sitting or standing statue according to the amount of their bequests.¹ The sums with which they are credited, it is to be observed, are not those which were originally given to the state, but the resulting amount after it had been left to accumulate at compound interest for many years. Thus, the sum of 800,000 lire with which Francesco Vivaldi is credited in 1467 really represents a far more moderate donation of 9,000 lire made in 1371.

The development of such an institution as the Bank was naturally a slow one, and though it does not afford very interesting reading, its history holds so important a place in that of the Republic itself that it is impossible to omit a short account of its growth and powers.

The commercial and warlike enterprises of the Genoese of old time are almost incredible in their extensiveness. Corsica was held successfully against the Pisans, and the islanders reduced to submission; both Venice and Arragon were opposed with equal success; Famagusta was occupied in 1373; Scio and the Foglie in 1346; and in the Black Sea the supremacy of Genoa was felt by the rival maritime states, even if they refused to acknowledge it.

Such undertakings were costly, and frequently required an outlay of more money than the exchequer

¹ The same curious gradation of honours was observed with regard to the benefactors of the Hospital of Pammatone. Donors of more than 200,000 lire were rewarded with a statue in a sitting posture, while those who gave half that sum had to be content with a standing effigy. Those whose more modest gifts amounted to 50,000 lire were recorded by a marble bust, and for 25,000 lire a shy little tablet was put up with the name of the giver graven upon it (Olivieri, *Monete e Medaglie della Spinola*).

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contained: and to meet the difficulty private individuals combined to advance the necessary funds, receiving in return certain of the taxes for a definite period as payment. The broad principle underlying these transactions was that of borrowing from private sources, and paying the interest out of the receipts from the taxes and harbour dues.

To English people it may seem strange that the greatest source of revenue was derived from the salt monopoly. In 1152 the state reserved to itself the sole right of selling salt throughout the territories of the Republic, and in the thirteenth century there were properly constituted *consoli del sale*, who were chosen by lot, and whose duty it was to superintend the collection and disposal of all moneys thus received. Salt was produced at Albissola, Porto Maurizio, Ventimiglia, Sta. Margherita and Rapallo, though in later days "sal albus" was produced at Spezia. The regulations with regard to this monopoly provided for every contingency: and when, in 1229, Hyères engaged to supply all the salt required at an established price, it was decreed that only Genoese ships might be employed in transporting it to the capital. The captain was forbidden to land his cargo in any other port than Genoa: should he be misguided enough to transgress, then the crew was invited to mutiny, and bring the erring skipper and the cargo to the *consoli del sale*, where as a punishment half the value of the ship was divided among the crew, and the other half went to the public treasury. If the vessel were found to be carrying the prohibited "sal albus," the cargo was thrown into the sea, the ship burnt, and the warehouse intended for storing it was destroyed.¹

¹ *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria*, vol. xxxv. p. 113.

Whenever a ship arrived in Genoa with a cargo of salt the captain was obliged to send a sample of it immediately to the *consoli*; it had, if approved, then to be filled into special sacks belonging to the *conservatori* of the harbour, and to be stored in magazines set apart for the purpose, which were finally locked with three keys, of which the state held two in its own possession.¹ Nor was this all, for the salt could only be retailed in the "stapole" appointed for the purpose.²

The chief importance of this monopoly was that in times of stress the state could raise the price at pleasure, and on occasion it went up to five times its usual value. An instance of this occurred in 1319, when Cardinal Luca Fieschi advanced a sum of 9000 lire, and received the *Sacro Catino* as security. To redeem this precious vessel the price of salt was increased by twelve denarii per mina.

The Public Debt which in 1407 was consolidated into the "Compera di San Giorgio" may be said to have originated in the Crusades; for during their progress Genoa drove a thriving trade in carrying the Crusaders and their followers to the Holy Land. When Saracen-spitting ceased to be a popular European sport, the Republic found itself with a large number of ships lying idle. Partly to keep these employed the campaign against Tortosa and Almeria was undertaken, and the first public debt dates back to 1148, when the former city was taken and sacked. The expenses must have been very heavy, for the

¹ Cuneo, *Memorie sopra l' antico debito pubblico, etc.*

² To be quite precise, the shops in which bread and salt were sold were called "stapole"; wine and oil were sold in "fondachi," and all other goods in "botteghe." Cuneo, *op. cit.*

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public debt is said to have been 2,200,000 lire at the end of 1150. Begun in this manner, so easy a method of raising money was likely to become rapidly popular, and the number of debts grew so large and so much difficulty accompanied the regulation of them that in 1332, at the end of the civil war, all the *compere*, or loans, were united under one head and called the "Compera Nuova della Pace." The sum of the debts at this period amounted to 826,696 lire.¹

Further modifications followed on the election of Simone Boccanegra as Doge in 1339, for all the books had been burnt during the disturbances, and it consequently became necessary to make out a new statement of all creditors, the amount of their credits, and the particular "compera" to which their *luoghi*, or shares, belonged. At the same time it was decided to combine the debts again as far as it was possible to do so, and thus reduce the number of *compere*.

This arduous task was deputed to four men called *sapienti*, and the result of their labours was to dispose of the several debts under three groups: the "Compera del Sale" of 1274, paying 8%; the "Mutua Vetera" of 1303, paying 7%; and the "Compera della Pace," paying 7%. Whatever moneys were over after the interest had been paid went towards buying in *luoghi* with the object of extinguishing the debt.² The

¹ A sidelight is thrown on the cost of these civil wars by the fact that out of this sum 120,000 lire had to be paid for the hire of mercenaries, and 34,800 as indemnity to the Spinola and Grimaldi (Atti, *loc. cit.* p. 120).

² In one or two essential points there is a marked difference between the "Compera" and a modern company. Many of the loans were more or less compulsory; and while the modern company has its capital divided into shares of a fixed value, the "Luogo" was really an ideal unit. Moreover, whereas the company makes out its dividends as a

control of these affairs was placed in the hands of eight "Protettori," and besides these officers there were the "Visitatori del Comune," whose duty it was to carry out the instructions of the "Protettori," and to examine the accounts. In process of time the office of "Visitatore" passed from the control of the state to the administrators of the debt, and new overseers were appointed to protect the interests of the shareholders. These officials were four in number, two "Massai del Comune," or stewards, and two "Maestri della Ragione," or auditors. The former officers had control of the exchequer, and only disbursed money on the receipt of a demand written by the *cancelliere*, signed by the notary of the "Maestri," and sealed with the three seals of the Doge, the Anziani, and of the Maestri themselves. The duty of the latter, therefore, was to control the "Massari." These Magistracies seem to date from 1335.

The "Visitatori" were four in number, two of them noble, and two drawn from the merchant classes. They had to be over thirty years of age, to possess 3000 lire at least, and held office for six months.

The distinction between a "Compera" and a "Maone" has not been sufficiently noted by the generality of modern writers. It appears that the

whole according to the profits of the year, the interest of a "Luogo" was a fixed sum. No foreigner, *i.e.* nobody but a Genoese, could possess shares without the express permission of the Governors; and anyone who was permitted to buy them immediately became liable for his share of the taxes.

Whenever the state farmed out a tax a portion was reserved as a "coda di ridenzione," or redemption fund. For instance, if an introit of the value of 1300 lire was to be dealt with only 1000 lire of it would be sold, the remaining 300 lire forming a "coda," or tail, and being left to multiply at compound interest with the object of redeeming the other portion.

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former term was applied to loans in money,¹ while the latter referred to loans of ships and armed men for warlike expeditions. This was especially the case in 1346, when Scio was taken. The "Maonisti" supplied the government with a fully-equipped fleet, and when at the end of the campaign the state was unable to pay the sum of 203,000 lire, to which the expenses amounted, the debt was converted into a liability, which became known as the "Maone di Scio." In the case of the "Maone," too, the shareholders had more power; for the Island of Scio with the Two Foglie was given to them for twenty years, at the end of which period the state bound itself to redeem the shares. The Podestà of Scio was nominated by the Republic in concert with the shareholders, so that they had a direct part in the management of these possessions.

A further consolidation ensued in 1349, and in 1363 material changes were made by Gabriele Adorno in the management of the debt. The control was placed in the hands of the "Otto della Moneta," and no expenditure exceeding the sum of 375 lire could be incurred in one year without the sanction of this body. They had not only to approve of each expedition before it could be undertaken, but to decide upon the means of paying for it.

The final change came in 1407 when Boucicault, the French Governor, accustomed as he was to ride roughshod over the opinions of others, endeavoured to force the Genoese into an involuntary loan without the promise of redemption within a reasonable time

¹ The "Compere" were not all money transactions, however, for in 1378 the government announced its readiness to accept a loan, in *pepper*, and to redeem it either in kind, or in specie (Atti, *loc. cit.* p. 187).

limit. The multiplicity of the loans already floated added to the general distrust, and investors began to fight shy of putting their money into the *Compere* of the state. Accordingly the Anziani of the city, with the consent of Boucicault, decreed that a council of eight should be entrusted with the work of reorganisation: and after a year's hard work all the old "Compere" were reduced to one great loan, which was henceforth known as the *Grande Compera di San Giorgio*.¹

The percentage on the revised "luoghi" was to be 7%: and the whole scheme was controlled by a council of 480, all of whom must be over eighteen, and possess not less than ten "luoghi." This *grande consiglio* could only meet when summoned by the "Protettori," who, eight in number, had to be thirty years of age; though if six of them were of proper age it was sufficient if the remaining two had completed their twenty-fifth year. The "Protettori" had to possess at least 100 "luoghi," and were elected by thirty-two electors, themselves carefully chosen by lot for the purpose. The power of the "Protettori" was practically unlimited, as it was their duty to in all things "rule, command, provide and order."

There were besides several minor magistracies, but the chief was the "Ufficio del Quarantaquattro," so

¹ The Genoese first came across St George at Cappadocia in 1098, and quickly adopted as their patron saint the

"Eccelso cavalier di Cristo atleta,
Giorgio chiamata; e vera insegna e duce
Di nostra gran Liguria."

The quotation is from a long poem written by B. Falamone, a Genoese, on the lines of Dante's Divine Comedy. It was lost for about two hundred years, and only came to light in the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

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named from the year 1444 in which it was instituted, which consisted of eight members whose duty it was to deal with all that the other magistrates had allowed to lapse, or had been unable to settle within the established time. These last remained in office for eight years, and among other things had control of the "code di ridenzione."

In 1675 branches were established in various parts of the city, where loans could be negotiated, and money drawn as in our modern banks.

Thus constituted, the Banca di San Giorgio escaped the revolutionary changes of 1797, for when the Genoese were forced to side with France it was made one of the stipulations that the integrity of the Bank should be guaranteed. But the great financial institution was already tottering to its fall, and in the succeeding year a great outcry was raised against the tyranny of a system which allowed the revenues of the state to be controlled by a body of private individuals.

It had served the Republic well and truly ; but its work was done, and in the name of Liberty and Equality the crowning monument of Genoese industry and foresight closed its doors for ever. The efforts of Napoleon in 1804 and 1814 were powerless to breathe life into it, and all that remains to the present generation is the picturesque old palace with its many memories.

And from among those memories none perhaps are more glorious than those recalling the history of the colonies, which helped to build up its greatness. Corsica, Cyprus, and the Black Sea settlements all came, at one time of trouble or another, under the control of the Bank : and there is no more fitting spot

than in the shadow of the Palace in which to trace the growth and decline of Genoa's oversea possessions.

At the close of the Crusade of 1097, when Genoa had sent a fleet to co-operate with Godfrey de Bouillon, the Republic gained its first possessions in the East; and when in 1099 Guglielmo Embriaco assisted at the taking of Jerusalem, and two years later captured Tyre and Cæsarea, the Genoese had reason to expect generous concessions from the new King of Jerusalem, Baldwin, Count of Flanders. In 1105 an agreement was drawn up by which a street in Jerusalem and one in Joppa (*singulos vicos donavit*) were given to the Genoese, and a third of the harbour dues and tributes in Assur, Cæsarea and Acre, with the promise of a third of the taxes in Memphis which Baldwin hoped to take with the assistance of Genoa (*si ea urbe, Genuensibus adiuvantibus, potiri contigisset*). In return the Republic bound itself to protect and defend Baldwin if necessary.¹

In payment for help rendered to the Princes of Laodicea and Antioch in 1098, the Genoese were granted concessions in these two towns, and a few years later (1109), for assisting Beltrame, son of Count Raimond of Toulouse, they were given a third part of the maritime dues in Tripoli and Toulouse.

These concessions were increased whenever the opportunity for so doing presented itself, and by 1190 the privileges of the Republic in Tyre, Sidon and Acre included liberty of trade, the possession of the necessary warehouses, their own laws and tribunals, and consuls sent from Genoa to regulate the colony in all things except criminal cases. The weights and measures were controlled by the Genoese, who received

¹ Foglietta, *Historia* sub 1105.

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half the maritime dues, and Genoese merchants were free from the payment of all taxes.

Each campaign increased the possessions of the Republic, and in 1147 and 1148 Almeria and Tortosa were wrested from the Saracens. Caffaro claims that the Genoese captured them single-handed, slew 20,000 infidels in the first-named city, routed 30,000 more, and took back 10,000 women and children in captivity to Genoa, receiving as ransom the sum of 30,000 *marabottini*.¹ The successful issue of this siege so elated the Genoese that it was difficult to restrain the men from beginning a premature attack on Tortosa; and the consuls were obliged to decree that nobody should begin the battle until the command was given (*ut nemo sine communi consilio, et licentia consulum deinceps ad bellum iret*. Caffaro, *Annales*, in Muratori, *Rer. It. Script.*, vol. vi.).

Early in the next century a footing was gained in Cyprus, at Nicosia, and in 1232 the Genoese were in possession of streets and warehouses in various towns, with permission to enter all the ports of the Island without paying the harbour dues. From this small beginning Genoa at length became mistress of the whole kingdom.

At the beginning of the thirteenth century Genoese traders were carrying their merchandise to every port on the coast of Palestine, and bringing back precious spices and oriental fabrics. They had collecting and distributing centres in Spain at Almeria and Tortosa; in the Islands of Candia and Cyprus they held concessions; and in Tunis, Barbary, Tripoli, Bugia, Garbo,

¹ The marabottino was worth 12.198 lire (present value). Its "purchasing" value was, however, about 30.50 lire. See Imperiale, *Caffaro e suoi tempi*, p. 330.

Morocco and Ceuta were to be found their emporia and warehouses; while their European commercial treaties included Bordeaux, Rochelle, Bruges and Antwerp.

The loss of all rights in Palestine, consequent on the capture of Jerusalem by the Saracens in 1244, was a blow which only rendered the Genoese more anxious to extend their enterprises into other lands; and the Treaty of Ninfedo was made at a time when the Republic was free to throw her full strength into the new channels thus opened, and to found fresh colonies in the Black Sea.

It is of Pera and these new colonies that the Palazzo di San Giorgio calls up the most vivid memories. The date of its foundation is almost the same as that in which Pera was ceded to Genoa, and the Venetian trophies from Pantocratore were built into the façade. It is a period which marks out a new era of prosperity, beginning with the accession of Michael Palæologos to the throne of Constantinople, aided by the Genoese.

Under the dynasty of the Comneni the Venetians had held the upper hand in the Black Sea, but with their downfall came the opportunity of Genoa. In recognition of their services Palæologos agreed to the treaty of Ninfedo already mentioned, in 1262. New colonies sprang up at Sansum, Trebisonde, Sudak, and Cembalò (Balaklava), while Galata, or Pera,¹ and Caffa became the centres of a system of government very carefully regulated by the authorities at home.

Cyprus, meanwhile, had been overrun by the

¹ Galata was the portion of this suburb of Constantinople which contained the tower. That portion which lay nearest the sea was called Pera (*Giornale Ligustico*, anno 1841, fasc. ii. p. 171).

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merchants of Venice and Genoa; and it does not appear that the latter endeavoured to ingratiate themselves with the Cypriotes; for whenever discords arose with the Venetian colonists—and they did arise very frequently—it was to the Venetians that the natives lent their support. More than once there had been brawls and riots between them, and at the coronation of Pierino in 1372 matters came to a crisis, when each Republic claimed presidency over the other. Again the Cypriotes favoured the Venetians, and their rivals resolved never to forgive the slight. In the following year they came to blows at a banquet, and the Cypriotes taking the side of the Venetians as on former occasions, the eight Genoese who were present received a sound beating, and were thrown from the windows.¹

Seven of the eight were killed outright, and the survivor arrived in Genoa with his head in bandages to lay the story of the outrage before the Senate. A fleet of forty-three galleys under Pietro Fregoso was despatched to avenge the insult, and the island was reduced to submission, the King being taken back to Genoa as a captive. The terms which the victorious Republic dictated were as follows: The King of Cyprus was to be allowed to exercise his authority in the island, but with this restriction, that he might not impose any new tax without the permission of the Genoese. He had no power over Genoese subjects in the realm, who were only called upon to render obed-

¹ Foscarini's MS. note on the margin of Foglietta's History is pleasingly graphic; "and several of the Genoese," says he, "were emptied out of the balconies and windows; and in that day the Genoese had a very bad time of it (*quel dì Genovesi hebene un mal dì*), what with the Venetians and the Cypriotes."

ience to their own Podestà. He was to pay 40,000 *scudi* as damages, 40,000 more for the help previously given him, and within the next twelve years was to pay over the huge sum of 2,240,000 *scudi*, as security for which Genoa was to retain the town of Famagusta, while the island paid an annual sum of 40,000 *scudi* for its upkeep. Nor was this all: it was stipulated that the King's uncle, Giacomo, and his two sons, were to be given up as hostages. Giacomo and his sons languished in a Genoese prison until Pierino died and Giacomo succeeded to the throne: and as the money was never paid Genoa retained possession of Famagusta.

In 1447, being no longer able to protect it, the Island of Cyprus was made over to the Banca di San Giorgio by the Republic, and in 1464 was lost for ever.

Scio and the Foglie were captured in 1346, and considerable revenue accrued to the state from the rich deposits of alum which were found there; until in the course of time these possessions, too, were wrested from the grasp of Genoa.

Caffa, however, remained the chief source of wealth, while Pera, from its strategic position on the Bosphorus, and commanding the Black Sea, was scarcely less important. No pains were spared to ensure the strict observance of treaty rights, and to avoid friction with the Greeks of Constantinople; but the task was a difficult one, and called for more than the ordinary amount of tact on the part of the Podestà. The colonists did not pretend to conceal their contempt for their neighbours; for time after time, when the Emperor had protested against their behaviour with a timid show of force, they had been

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ignominiously beaten, rushing with hysterical screams back to Constantinople, and closing the gates in terror lest the handful of Genoese merchants should break in and plunder their dwellings. By way of amusing themselves the Genoese, on one occasion, had fired into the city from Galata, and after having sent an elaborate apology to the Emperor to say that it had been an accident, repeated the little joke on the following day. The Greeks were powerless, and when the Emperor in his troubles enlisted the combined services of Arragon and Venice, Pagano D' Oria dispersed the allied fleets with considerable damage under the very walls of the city itself, while the Genoese extorted still more advantageous terms and an extension of territory from the Greeks.

It is difficult to say whether the Genoese government was officially responsible for any of these disturbances. In outward appearance there was no fault to be found with the precautions taken in the selection of the Podestà. He was bound down by an exceedingly well regulated code, being selected by the home government, and held office for a year only. He was not again eligible for ten years. If he died in office a temporary Podestà was elected in Galata itself, who governed the colony until a new magistrate could arrive from Genoa. The Podestà took an oath before leaving that he would observe the laws, and on the expiration of his term was called upon to render a strict account of his stewardship. Immediately on his arrival he was obliged to pay a state visit to the Emperor, who probably received him somewhat coldly ; and this done he spent the next few weeks in taking a census of all the inhabitants of Galata in order that no one who was not Genoese, or who had not the

right to be considered as such,¹ might be able to trade under the Genoese privileges.

These duties were varied every Sunday by a visit in great state to the Emperor, and the Sundays were few indeed on which he was not entertained with a long string of complaints regarding the misdeeds of his compatriots. Sometimes it was a Genoese vessel that had been seen smuggling salt into Constantinople ; sometimes a merchant who had built a warehouse outside the allotted space ; sometimes a foreigner who had been discovered trading under Genoese tariffs ; but most frequently of all there were serious indictments for assaults committed on his unfortunate subjects.

When the Turkish hordes arrived under the walls of Constantinople the Genoese found themselves on the horns of a dilemma. Had they been able to foresee the exact result of the siege, they would doubtless have arrived at a satisfactory conclusion without difficulty ; but in the uncertainty they elected to steer a middle course, and place themselves on good terms with both sides. With this laudable end in view, they fought with singular ferocity on behalf of the tottering Empire, and at the same time drove a flourishing trade with the Turks.

Constantinople fell in 1453, and five days later Mahomet visited Galata. Whatever the terms of the treaty made with him had been, the Genoese had failed to abide by them ; and for his part the Turk had never had any intention of keeping his word. The walls were thrown down, and the warehouses and magazines closed and sealed : an inventory was made

¹ "*Persona Januensis vel que pro Januensi distinguatur.*" Regulations for the Administration of the Colony of Galata, Feb. 14th, 1317. Quoted in Sauli, *La Colonia de' Genovesi in Galata*.

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of the possessions of such Genoese as had been wise enough to flee ; and a decree was promulgated that all those who should return within three months would receive back their goods intact. Nobody was deceived, and another of Genoa's great emporia was swept from existence.

There only remained Caffa and the colonies near it. All of these had been transferred to the Banca di San Giorgio on the fall of Constantinople, and doubtless all that could be done was done in order to preserve them intact. So much was spent on them that for the next few years no dividends were forthcoming. But the Bank authorities were not able to cope with the greed of their representatives on the spot. It was to the interest of the Khan of Tartary that the Genoese should retain the port of Caffa, as it formed the only outlet by which the produce of the interior could reach the great markets of the world. He looked, therefore, with an eye of favour on the Genoese, and though the town was governed by one of the Khan's own representatives he was so ably "assisted" by an overpowering magistracy of four, a consul and two *consiglieri* annually elected in Genoa, that they practically ruled him as well as the colony.

In 1475 Mamac, the governor, died, and when the Khan appointed a successor in the person of one Eminices, or Eminec, Mamac's widow bribed the Genoese authorities in the town, and by their representations Eminec was removed from office for treachery, and Seifac, Seitac or Seifaces as he is variously called—son of Mamac—appointed instead. But Eminec was not the man to accept such treatment quietly, and he besought vengeance at the hand of the Turks. Only too willing to attack the valuable ports of the Black

Sea they responded with alacrity, and sent a fleet under Achmet Giedek, to which Caffa offered to surrender unconditionally. But Achmet was in a fighting mood, and insisted that some show of opposition should be made; and after he had kept up a spirited bombardment against the silent walls for an hour or two, graciously accepted the keys which the Genoese had not ceased to proffer.

Thus fell Caffa, the last of Genoa's colonies, and the last fount of her wealth. All that remains to Genoa is a proud memory, the names of two new streets, one near the lunatic asylum and the other far across the Bisagno, and an olive-complexioned, grave-eyed Byzantine Madonna in the Palazzo Bianco.

CHAPTER VI

THE CATHEDRAL OF SAN LORENZO

IN 985 the church of San Lorenzo became the Cathedral of Genoa, and grew into importance at the expense of that of San Siro. If little is known of the founding of the latter, still less information has been preserved which throws light on the building dedicated to San Lorenzo. In it are incorporated fragments far older than anything else in Genoa, some of them of undoubted Lombard origin, and others even bear the impress of pagan Rome. St. Lawrence suffered martyrdom in 261, and as he had been a visitor to the city it is possible that a church was dedicated to him there at a very early date.

There was certainly a church here in 878,¹ and the see was transferred from San Siro, because at that time the older cathedral lay outside the walls and was exposed to the Saracen raiders. The cathedral as it stands to-day was commenced in the tenth century, but not consecrated until 1118, when Pope Gelasius II. came to Genoa. It was then dedicated to the "holy martyr Saint Lawrence and to the ever blessed Saint Syrus."

To attempt any description of the façade or to endeavour to unravel its history is to attack one of the most complicated problems ever set by the early

¹ Banchero, *Il Duomo di Genova*, p. 129.

Christian builders. Giustiniani, in his annals, states that it was completed in 1199; while Spotorno, following Cipricus,¹ assigns its completion to the year 1100. Other writers are not wanting who give a much later date to the work. The fact seems to be that although the façade may have been built at one single period—and the preponderance of evidence favours the date of 1100—it contains decorations which are much earlier, and others which are later, than that date. It incorporates fragments of Roman sarcophagi, some of them built in head downwards; and in the side portals the lintels are undoubtedly portions of rich Roman cornices, while the slender shafts and arch moulds under them present a striking similarity to the work in San Michele at Pavia. The columns in the north entrance are deserving of particular notice, as the lightly incised eagles may be ascribed to any period between the seventh and tenth centuries. The twisted marble shafts, again, standing about the great west door, are quite possibly those which were brought from Almeria, and in that case could not have been put into position before the capture of that town in 1148. Finally, the panels in the jambs of the same door were never carved to fill the places they now occupy, for they were evidently found too short, and have been lengthened by the addition of a block of plain marble at the top and bottom so as to support the lintel above. These two panels, representing the early history of Christ and the Stem of Jesse, with the Byzantine Christ above the arch, and the crude caricature of the martyrdom of St. Lawrence on a sort of patent iron bedstead, seem to

¹ Spotorno, *Storia Letteraria della Liguria*. Cipricus *Historia Genuensium*.



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be the work of a still later date. Besides all this there are many other indications of a technical nature, which point to the conclusion that the central doorway, at least, was altered at the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century.

At this very period, namely in 1296, the Grimaldi and Fieschi rose in rebellion against the rule of Corrado Spinola and Corrado D' Oria, who were the *Capitani* of the Commune; and when a number of the rebels were forced to take refuge in the church, their victorious assailants set fire to the doors with the intention of smoking them out, or of suffocating them if they stayed within. In either case there was little likelihood of their escaping with their lives, when suddenly the *Capitani* arrived on the scene and averted the catastrophe. The roof of the cathedral, however, was destroyed, and the portals at which the fires had been kindled must have suffered a considerable amount of damage. It is therefore far from improbable that when the roof was rebuilt and the walls repaired—which the two inscriptions above the nave arcade show to have been done between 1307 and 1312—the western doors received the form they bear at the present day.

The tribune over the northern portal of the atrium was completed in 1304, and was used later as a place of safe-keeping for the statutory weights and measures of the Republic. The upper portion of the only tower which was completed was finished by Ottaviano Fregoso, Doge in 1522.

The whole of the nave, excepting only such portions of the upper masonry as were replaced after the fire, is of the original structure, but the crossing with its dome is the work of Galeazzo Alessi, a Perugian

architect, who did much towards earning for Genoa the name of "Genova la Superba."

Unfortunately it is easy to mistake size for grandeur in Genoa; and though the works carried out by Alessi are many in number and vast in extent, there is in all of them a want of feeling for proportion, and a lack of originality. He was born in 1512,¹ and in 1549 came to Genoa to undertake the erection of the Carignano church for the Sauli family, perhaps introduced to their notice by Bartolomeo Sauli, Papal Treasurer in Perugia and Umbria. His work in the Duomo was begun in 1567, and besides designing the cupola he also supplied a sketch for the main lines of the choir.

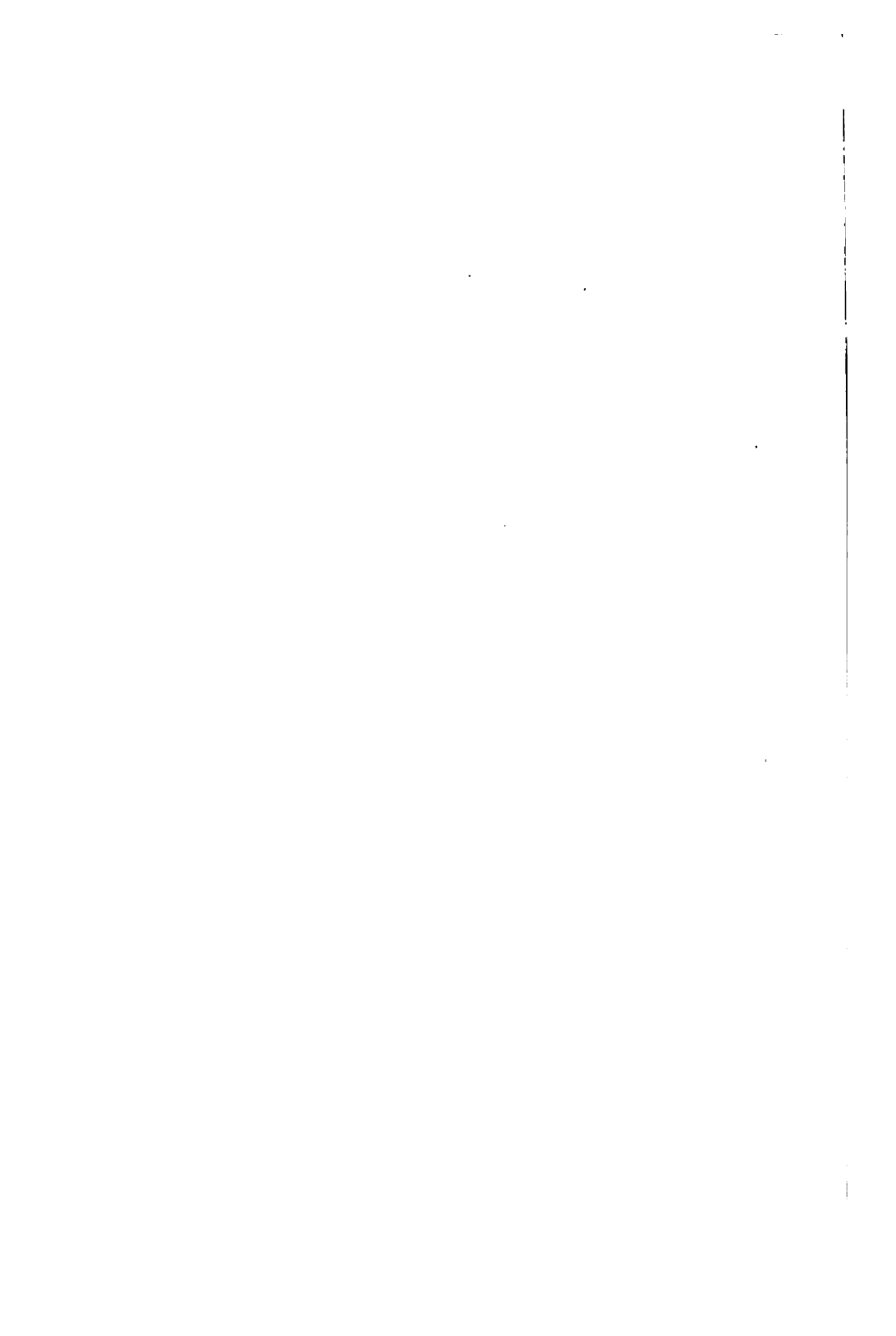
There is much evidence that might be adduced to show that the building of the cathedral was continued without interruption throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In 1303 a tenth of the taxes was voted towards the work of "completing the columns of the Church of San Lorenzo, already begun," and there are still older grants of public moneys under the years 1134, 1140 and 1170. In 1134 every Jew in Genoa was compelled to pay three soldi annually towards the expense of supplying oil for the sanctuary lamps, a decree in which there seems to be a flavour of irony.

¹ Not 1500, as stated by Milizia and Pascoli. See A. Rossi, *Di Galeazzo Alessi, architetto perugino*. His most notable work in Genoa was the laying out of the Strada Nuova, and the building of the huge, but overpoweringly heavy, palaces which line it. Their chief feature consists of a (generally) stately courtyard with colonnades—the same courtyards of which Dickens said that "any moderately enterprising scavenger might make a fine fortune by now and then clearing them out." But times have changed since the days of the Pink Jail, and an energetic municipality sees to it that the houses and streets are kept clean.

The best of Alessi's works in the city is undoubtedly the fine Porta Siberia, built in the Doric order at the landward end of the Molo Vecchio.



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The chapels in the interior have suffered greatly at the hands of restorers during the last ten or twelve years, and many are the pictures and altars that have disappeared under their tender care. Blank wall spaces with here and there a splash, as it were, of decoration or of fresco is all that is left to indicate the positions of altars which once existed.

The right aisle contains only two chapels out of the original six ; and in the first of these there is a picture by Luca Cambiaso, in his second manner, representing the *Virgin with SS. Anna, St. Nicolò of Bari, and St. Nicolò of Tolentino*. Federico Federici, one of Genoa's historians, is buried in the sarcophagus between this chapel and the next. He died in 1647.

The second chapel is at the top of the aisle, and was decorated at the expense of Matteo Senarega, Chancellor of the Republic towards the end of the sixteenth century. It was dedicated to St. Sebastian, and contained a fine picture by Federico Barocci of Urbino, representing the martyrdom of that saint, who in his dying moments is gladdened by a vision of his crucified Lord and of the Virgin and Baptist. It is one of the best pictures in the city, and was taken to Paris by Napoleon, but subsequently returned. On the other wall is a painting by Lorenzo de' Ferrari, of *SS. Stanislaus and Francesco Borgia*, which was brought here on the suppression of the Church of St. Ignazio. The frescoes in the vault are among the last works of Andrea Carlone, depicting the *Baptism of St. Sebastian*, and should not be taken as in any way representing his merits as a painter. The *Crucifixion*, the four *Evangelists*, and the statues of *SS. Ambrose and Stephen*, are the work of P. Francavilla. The chapel was restored at the beginning of the last century.

From 1525 funds were yearly set aside to pay for the stalls and the general decoration of the choir. Whatever disappointment may be felt at the bareness of the nave and crossing, it will not be denied that the choir is worthy of the cathedral in a great city. The earliest work that it contains is the statue, by Montorsoli, of St. John the Baptist, in which the sculptor has taken the head of his patron Andrea D' Oria as a model. The work of this artist in Genoa must be considered when it is time to deal with the Church of San Matteo, and it is scarcely necessary to mention that Montorsoli was the pupil and distinguished follower of Michelangelo; for the characteristics of the school are all too evident in the love of anatomy displayed in the masterly carving of the bare arm. Still more is it manifest in the modelling of the knee, which in spite of the fact that it is covered by the drapery is modelled as perfectly as though it were uncovered.

The decorations of the choir were designed and carried out by Lazzaro Tavarone and Rocco Pennone in 1624, but they suffered to some extent in the French bombardment of 1684.

The fresco in the vault of the choir is by Lazzaro Tavarone, signed and dated 1622, and representing the *Martyrdom of San Lorenzo*. It is his best work in Genoa, and there is little to indicate that he had already reached the age of sixty-eight when the work was done. The bronze group of the *Virgin and Child* by Giambattista Bianco was placed on the high altar in 1652, in which year the Republic gave itself into the keeping of the Blessed Virgin, and elected her Governor of the city. For this reason the figure holds a sceptre, and is crowned. The

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splendid series of wood inlays in the choir are the work of Zabello and his assistants, and were executed in, or about, 1546.

The chapel at the top of the left aisle contains several pictures by Luca Cambiaso, and also one of the very few statues he ever carved. The *Wedding of the Virgin*, and the *Presentation in the Temple*, are both by him, but are so high up that it is only with difficulty that they can be seen at all. The other oil-paintings by this artist here are, *SS. John Baptist, Luke and Benedict* (from the old church of Sta. Caterina), a *Presepio*, and the *Adoration*. The first of these is one of his best works, and possesses a degree of quiet dignity which is lacking in most of his pictures. The greatest curiosity in the chapel is that one of the four statues which Soprani tells us he carved. It is generally thought that he did the figure of *Faith*, perhaps because it is the worst of the four; certainly there is little to admire in it—unless it be the impudence of the author—for it is ill adapted for its position, and the head is too small. The statue of *Hope* is by G. B. Castello and Giacomo di Valsoldo carved the remaining two. The present altar was erected in 1821.

There are few pictures in the Sacristy which are likely to attract much attention; but the want is amply atoned for by the *Sacro Catino*, which is preserved here, and which for centuries the Genoese wilfully pretended to believe was cut from a single emerald.¹ Caffaro relates that Guglielmo Embriaco

¹ I say "wilfully," because other people seem to have been perfectly well aware that the Genoese had only got hold of a piece of glass. William of Tyre, who was contemporary with the taking of Cæsarea, remarks that it is only of this inferior material. "*Vas coloris viridissimi*," he says, "*in modum parapsidis formatum, quod prædicti Januenses*

was the first to scale the walls of Cæsarea, and that as he reached the summit the ladder and those behind him fell back into the ditch, leaving Embriaco unsupported. Nothing daunted, he ran forward and discovered that the Saracens had already deserted that part of the defences. He signalled to his men to make another attempt, and the city was captured without further opposition. For this action he received the *Sacro Catino*, and subsequently presented it to the Cathedral.

It is an octagonal basin of dark green Venetian glass, very transparent, and absolutely without flaw; and about which a goodly collection of mysterious tales have gathered. Not only was it hollowed out of an emerald of the purest water, but it was held to have formed part of the treasure given by Solomon to the Queen of Sheba. Some said also that it was the dish of the sangrail, or

“The cup, the cup itself, from which our Lord
Drank at the last sad supper with His own,”

and it was guarded with the utmost care by twelve *clavigeri*, each of whom had to be a knight, and was bound to watch over the catino for a month in each year. No Genoese dared to suggest that the treasure was less than it claimed to be; but alas! Napoleon came to Genoa, as he went everywhere else, and the basin naturally and in due course found its way to Paris. On the journey it was broken, and the fragments came back—no longer emerald but glass—to lie decked with fine goldsmith's work in San Lorenzo.

smaragdinum reputantes. . . . Ecclesiae suae pro excellenti retulerunt ornatu. . . . Vas idem quasi pro miraculo solent ostendere, persuadentes quod vere sit color indicat, smaragdus”—*deluding themselves into the belief that it is what its colour indicates, an emerald.*

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The two silver chasses preserved here are used for processions. The one for the procession of Corpus Domini is the work of Cesare Groppi : the other, in which the ashes of St. John Baptist are carried, was made in 1438 by Teramo di Daniele, and bears a striking resemblance to the work of Giovanni da Bologna. A piece of the True Cross is preserved here in an ancient casket, the inscription of it stating that "Bardas, the Emperor, has ornamented the most holy wood of the Sacred Cross with gold, pearls and precious stones . . . and Ciriacus, priest . . . has made for it a golden casket. This ornament, being deteriorated with age, Isaac, the chief priest and first among the doers of good deeds, had it renewed."¹ It came into the possession of the Genoese during the fourth Crusade, in 1204. The Venetians had stolen it from its rightful owners, and were sending it as a present to the Pope, Innocent III. ; but the galley with the relic on board was overtaken by bad weather, and seeking shelter at Modone, was attacked by two Genoese ships and captured.

San Lorenzo boasts its share of saintly, but mostly ill-gotten relics. St. Syrus, St. Romulus and another bishop-saint lie under the high altar ; the remains of St. John the Baptist himself are preserved in his own chapel, in three caskets, shut, with nobody can say how many keys : and Giustiniani mentions a noteworthy collection of holy bones, brought home by Gaspare Spinola in 1381, and which had been filched one by one, and as opportunity offered, from Venetian territory after the disaster of Chioggia. It included "the head of San Lorenzo the Martyr, that is to say, a part

¹ The translation of the inscription is transcribed from Giustiniani's *Annals*, vol. ii. p. 588, but not verified.

of it: a hand with the arm of St. Matthew," and a corresponding portion of St. George. Further down the list there occurs "a Head of a Holy Innocent," and between other items "a hand with the arm of a Holy Innocent," and "the leg with the foot of a Holy Innocent, and two bones without any ornament whatsoever (*senza ornamenta alcuno*)."¹ We cannot say exactly what sort of decoration the other relics bore, but in this case it seems to have been missing. They seem to have got nearly a whole Holy Innocent.¹

Leaving the Sacristy, and continuing the round of the church, the next chapel is dedicated to the Apostles, and was erected in 1503. It contains seven statues by Guglielmo della Porta, who came to Genoa when his father, Giacomo, was occupied in carving the baldacchino in the next chapel. The statues are those of Christ, with SS. Peter and Paul² in the centre niche, while the others are Abraham, Moses, and two Prophets. The marble kneeling figure of a cardinal is popularly called the "Canonico di Marmo," but nothing is known as to whence it came.

The chapel next in order is that of St John the Baptist, and as it contains his reputed ashes it is the most important in the cathedral, as well as the richest in decoration. Before their genuineness can be

¹ With regard to the bones described by Giustiniani as being without ornament, the *Pandecta* preserved in the Archives of Genoa, from which, in all probability, Giustiniani obtained his information, describe them as "ossa duo in argento," two bones *in silver*.

² The two latter figures appear to have been placed in their wrong positions, as the bas-relief over St. Paul refers to the life of St. Peter, while that over St. Peter concerns St. Paul. Moreover, St. Paul, in the position in which he has been placed, appears to be about to administer a "back-hander" to the central figure.



SAN LORENZO, CHAPEL OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST

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accepted or rejected, an account of their wanderings and adventures must be pieced together from the best sources obtainable, and the reader left to decide for himself.

The recorded "facts" are as follows. When the Baptist was beheaded his body received due burial, and for more than three hundred years the spot was a place of pious pilgrimage to all Christians. In 362 the Saracens dug up the headless remains, burnt them, and scattered the ashes to the four winds. Had they been the remains of an ordinary person this is probably the last we should have heard of them, but being what they were the scattered ashes were carefully collected by monks from Jerusalem, whose powers of recognition must have been abnormally acute. There then occurs an unbridged gap in the history until we hear of them being given to St. Atangio, bishop of Alexandria. Another gap follows, and they are found to be at Myrrh, with no record of how or when they got there. But they are zealously proved to be the relics of the Baptist by analogies which to the sceptic may appear unconvincing;—"just as one who holds in his hands the two ends of a chain may be unable to see the intermediate links still knows that they exist, so it is beyond dispute that in the fourth century these holy relics lay in Alexandria, and that in the ninth they were the object of the utmost reverence in myrrh."¹ And when Pope Gelasius II. visited Genoa in 1118 did he not view the ashes and himself pronounce them beyond all question genuine?

The ashes remained at Myrrh until the Crusade of 1097, when the Genoese ships which had carried the

¹ Semeria, *Storia Ecclesiastica*, p. 328.

Crusaders to Palestine put into the harbour on their return journey and demanded, not the remains of the Baptist, but of St. Nicholas of Bari, and were told that they had already been sent back to Bari. Disbelieving the monks, the Genoese broke into the church, and began to dig under the high altar, presently coming upon the empty coffin. They would have desisted had not their suspicions been roused by the continued weeping of the monks, and rejecting the empty shell they went on eagerly with the work. Once more they were about to stop, when suddenly they came across another casket, with which, to the intense grief of the holy brethren, they set off towards the galleys, followed by the monks, crying "alas! and alas! amid sighs and groans, and tears and crying."¹ The monks then confessed that the casket contained the ashes of the Baptist.

In this manner the precious relics, whose genuineness is, of course, beyond question—buried for three centuries, burnt, scattered, collected again; lost and found, and lost again for five hundred years; then found, hidden and stolen—were brought to Genoa.

The chapel was not commenced until 1323, when the necessary funds were supplied by Nicolò and Oberto Campanari. In 1449 a new chapel was begun on a larger scale, and reduced to its present form. The façade is the oldest portion, and was finished, with one of the bas-reliefs on the side wall, in 1496. There are several works of interest in it: two statues by Sansovino, the *Virgin and Child*, and *St. John the Baptist*; six statues by Matteo Civitali of Lucca, which are among his best works, the finest of

¹ "Heu, heu clamantes usque ad maris litus eos consecuti sunt vociferantes cum clamore et lacrimis et gemitibus et suspiriis." MS. of Nicolò della Porte, quoted by Banchero, *Il Duomo di Genova*, p. 216.

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them being the *Zacchariah*, represented in the very moment when the power of speech returns, and his hands are raised in astonishment at the miracle which has been wrought. The other statues are, *St. Elizabeth*, two *Prophets*, *Adam* and *Eve*. The last is the least satisfactory of the group, and represent a coarsely made woman aping the attitude of *Venus*.¹

The baldacchino is the work of the della Porta family, and on a panel behind it there are two oil-paintings. On one side Teramo da Piaggio painted the *Birth of the Baptist*, and on the other there is a *Baptism of Christ*, by his life-long friend and companion Antonio Semino. It is a good opportunity for the student of painting to compare the methods of these two artists, who were among the first of the Genoese painters.

A spirit of vindictiveness, little in keeping with the preaching of the saint in whose honour the chapel was erected, is manifest in the inscription let into the wall close by. It forbids any woman, whether she be of the laity or a nun, to enter the chapel on pain of excommunication,² and the guide will tell you that only

¹ The figures of Adam and Eve were originally nude, but in deference to public feeling a later artist was called in to dress them decently in plaster garments. But like their prototypes our first parents, they were unaccustomed to the restrictions imposed by clothing, and looked very awkward and unhappy. The dresses were subsequently removed, and the present summer-like costumes of vine-leaves for Adam and fig-leaves for Eve were substituted. The Genoese counterpart of Mrs Grundy was thus appeased at the expense of the statues.

² PROHIBITUM • EST • P • BREVE • INNOCENTII • OCTAVI
PAPE • NEQUA • MULIER • SIVE • SECULARIS • SIVE
RELIGIOSA • SUB • EXCOMMUNICATIONIS • LATE
SENTENTIE • PENA • HANC • CAPELLAM • SANCTIS
PRECURSORIS • INGREDIATUR • IPSUM • AUTEM • BREVE
EST • APUD • ACTA • CURIE • ARCHIEPISCOPALIS
PENES • PETRUM • DI • RIPALTA • NOTARIUM
MCCCCLXXXII • DIE • XVIII • MAII

"crowned queens" have ever been allowed to pass the gates. As a matter of fact, however, the women of the Campanari family, in memory of the founders of the first chapel, possessed the singular privilege of receiving the nuptial blessing in this chapel: and when the male line died out, and the last Campanari married a Passano, the privilege was transferred to that family.

There is nothing more of interest in the Cathedral which is still visible. You may catch a glimpse of the monument to Cardinal Giorgio Fieschi over the hoardings of the next chapel, which was erected in 1464: and in it are stored what remains of the monument to Cardinal Luca Fieschi; but they have lain in a miscellaneous jumble for fifteen years or so, and not even the most sanguine optimist would dare to say when they shall be once more erected for men to see.¹

The organ over the south transept has a front which was carved by Giulio di Santa Croce in 1612-13, while the painting on the "portelli" by Giulio Benso represents *David dancing before the Ark*. The organ in the other transept was carved by Gasparo Forzani, and has a painting by G. A. Ansaldo on the doors.

The Cathedral, before the erection of a building for that especial purpose, was the seat of the consular government. In San Lorenzo all decrees were pro-

¹ In case the pictures which have been removed, and are at present inaccessible, should be put back into their old positions, it may be useful to give a catalogue of them:—

An *Ascension* by P. G. Piola (his first work in Genoa); a *St Gotthardo* with two other saints, by Luca Cambiaso, but repainted by Ratti; an *Annunciation* by G. B. Paggi (one of his best); a *St Vincenzo Ferreri*, by Dom. Fiasella; a *Martyrdom of Sta. Caterina*, by the brothers C. & A. Semino; and a very interesting painting on stone by Luca Cambiaso, in which are introduced the heads of Gian Luigi Fieschi, Raffaele Sacco and Verrina, the three chief conspirators in the plot of 1547.

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mulgated, young men were admitted to citizenship, investitures of office were made, and the submission of rebels accepted: did a master wish to give liberty to a slave, he brought him to San Lorenzo, and there freed him in the sight of his fellows. Here justice was administered; and criminals, convicted of a capital offence, were executed in the open space before the church, and their bodies thrown into a pit in the Piazza San Giovanni il Vecchio, the little square on the north of the building. This pit was completely filled up by 1535 and closed; and when a new one was opened, Ettore Fieschi, who lived near by, complained of the smell which arose from both of them, and offered to have them sealed at his own expense if another site were used for the purpose in future.¹

San Lorenzo has been the scene of a mild civil war, different in character from the many others which troubled Genoa. It arose between the Archbishop and the Doge, and was almost entirely fought out within the sacred precincts. Both had their thrones in the choir, that of the latter being on the south—*a latere epistolae*—and that of the Archbishop in the post of greater honour *in cornu evangelii*. When the Doge assumed regal dignity in 1638 on the strength of the claim to Corsica, the Senate demanded that the position of highest importance should be given up to the Doge. The Archbishop refused; and as soon as the myrmidons of the state had forcibly effected the alteration, the myrmidons of the church proceeded to replace the Archbishop's throne in its former position. It was in vain that the ecclesiastics got injunctions from the Pope to restrain the Doge; for every Sunday and

¹ *Atti*, vol. xxxiii. p. 101.

festival the Archbishop, in mitre and cope, was obliged to sit on the epistle side, and to glower across the choir at his enemy, in robes and crown, who on the Gospel side with great difficulty repressed a smile of satisfaction. Succeeding Archbishops fought against the usurpation in vain ; until in 1748 Monsignore Saporiti, Archbishop of Genoa, crept into the building at dead of night with his servants and priests, and stealthily removed the Dogal throne altogether. He expressed a fervent desire to bury it, but changing his mind, retired to Massa for a few weeks until the wrath of the Senate should have cooled.

The Revolution of 1797 settled the dispute in a drastic manner ; for the first act of the Democrats was to enter the Cathedral, attack the symbol of ducal authority, and smash it into a thousand pieces. Perhaps the Archbishop assisted.

One other event, the visit of Louis XII. in 1507, calls for mention. He had come in 1502, and his visit had been all pageantry and pleasantness, though it is true that all the upper floors of the houses had been cleared of their tenants to ensure that the king might not be received with a shower of stones. This was when Genoa had hailed him as master : but five years later the people rose in arms, and he came preceded by the drums of war, clad in armour, with his visor down and his sword unsheathed. As he entered the town he exclaimed : "Genoa the Superb, you lie in the hollow of my hand."

Many princes, the Dukes of Ferrara and of Urbino, and five cardinals, came with him to witness the abasement of the proud city ; and as he passed through the Porta di San Tommaso the Anziani and forty other citizens went out to meet him cap in

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hand, and knelt in the roadway before the church of San Teodoro, suing for pardon and mercy. But Louis, returning no answer, rode by on his way to offer up thanks in the cathedral. In the Piazza de' Banchi he was joined by a company of a hundred Fieschi, whose gaily caparisoned horses and splendid armour shone in sharp contrast with the mourning vestments of the other citizens. At the Duomo he was met by a throng of six thousand maidens clad in white, wailing and lamenting, bearing palm and olive branches, and mingling their cries with the solemn music of the Mass.

Executions and banishments followed : at the chief corners scaffolds were erected, each with its horrid burden. A fine of 200,000 *scudi* was imposed, the Briglia built, and it was decreed that in future the coinage should bear the effigy of the French monarch as a sign of subjection. Then, and not till then, was the wrath of Louis appeased ; and a fortnight later he again proceeded to San Lorenzo, and there, seated on a throne in the Piazza before the cathedral, and surrounded by all the magnificence of his retinue, he once more permitted the citizens to draw near and pay homage to him as to their master.

CHAPTER VII

THE HARBOUR AND ITS ASSOCIATIONS

NO book pretending to place Genoa before its readers in all the aspects of the past would be complete without some account of a port which for more than seven hundred years has been famous, and is to-day one of the two most important harbours in the Mediterranean Sea. From out of it have gone a train of victorious fleets with bellied sails and glistening oars to fight the battles of the mediæval world ; into it sailed the Pisans in picturesque defiance of the Republic, and a few days later nine thousand of them came back again in captivity, pinioned to the benches of their battered galleys after the battle of Meloria had been lost and won. Into this harbour there came in the days after Venice had suffered a bitter defeat at Sapienza, a little galley, dancing lightly on the waves and flying the banner of St. Mark : it landed a small party on the Molo Vecchio, and there, upon the stones of Genoa, Venetian money was struck with the impress of the winged lion as a sign of uttermost contempt. Into this harbour sailed Pope Urban with the six rebellious cardinals in 1367, and by the margin of its waters five of them were strangled in the dark mysterious vaults of San Giovanni di Prè. Here Andrea D' Oria landed when he came to give his country liberty, or such a pretence of it as was possible : and here, too, Gianluigi Fieschi weaved



THE CITY AND HARBOUR OF GENOA

his half-executed plot against that liberty, and found death lying among the galleys. Here Philip of Spain landed from his high-built galley with its five tiers of rowers: here Andrea D' Oria gave his banquet to Charles V., and caused the silver and gold vessels to be cast into the sea: and here, in 1684, stood a great French fleet, and bombarded the city into a smoking heap of ruins. Of all the great men of the Republic only Columbus is wanting, for Genoese though he was, it was under the flag of Spain that he made his discoveries, and it was Spain who reaped the reward.

Let us look back for a moment to the days when Genoa was a small town gathered into the neighbourhood of Sta. Maria del Castello, when there was neither Faro, nor Molo, nor Arsenal; when most of the bay was sand fringed, with vineyards and olive groves sloping gently down to the marge. The city enclosed within the new walls of 1159—built in frenzied haste against the second coming of Barbarossa—was so small that San Matteo, San Siro, and Sta. Maria delle Vigne were excluded from their protection; and the very name of the last, "Saint Mary of the Vineyards," speaks of pastoral quiet and rural pursuits. Westwards from this point there extended more vineyards and olive woods, traversed by a small rivulet of melted snows from the far hills; and where San Giovanni di Prè now stands an irregular patch of sand made a deep indentation into the pastures behind. History has forgotten when the church was first built, but it was there to shelter the ashes of St. John the Baptist when they reached Genoa in 1097, and long before it was called San Giovanni di Prè it had borne the name of "S. Johannes *in capite arenæ*," or "at the top of the sands."

It has been somewhat hastily concluded that the present name is an abbreviation of the word *preda*, meaning "booty," but there can be little doubt that its real significance is *dei prati*, or "of the fields," for the word figures in many forms in the poems written in dialect, and in every case the sense of it is undoubtedly "pastures, or fields."

" . . . ed ao riundu
U bagna i campi e i proi." ¹

Sands and fields, a church dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, and situated among the vines with a sparkling rivulet close by; such was once the spot now built over with tall warehouses and stores, and where the din of traffic never ceases. There were olive mills and orchards where the crazy vaults of Sottoripa stand to-day, and behind the newer arsenal stretched the vegetable gardens of San Tommaso and San Vittore.

When the grey weather-stained church of San Giovanni lay amid the sands there was a well beaten track leading thence to the Porta de' Vaccà, and the little stream, emptying into the sea at a spot called the Bocca di Bò, had to be crossed by stepping stones or fording, according to the season. But in 1162 the hand of man began the slow work of transformation, for the consuls of that year bought up the few houses that lay dotted about, constructed a small landing stage or *scalo* on the site of the Piazza dello Scalo by which it is still commemorated, and threw a primitive bridge over the stream. Very soon afterwards houses were built on the northern side of the path by those Genoese whose trading vessels came here to unlade;

¹ " And to the little stream which waters the meadows and fields."



S. GIOVANNI DI PRÈ

and it took its name of Via di Prè while still the sea washed its southern edge.

The *Darsena*, or arsenal, was near the old and neglected church of San Marco on the neck of land which leads to the Molo Vecchio. It is first mentioned in 1150¹ and the necessity for acquainting mariners at sea with their whereabouts was early recognised, for in 1161 night signals were first made from the rock where the lighthouse stands by means of bonfires. The port, such as it was, probably lay under the neck just referred to, but was evidently exposed to the violence of the weather, as in 1245 a large part of the shipping was destroyed by a storm, and about fifteen years later the bay at this point was deepened by Marino Boccanegra and a wall built, the little basin being known as the Mandraccio. It is uncertain when the Molo Vecchio was begun: even Spotorno fails to find any better authority than the Annals of Giustiniani, and says: "Some have written that in 1283 the Molo of the harbour was commenced," and adds that under any circumstances a portion of it was completed in 1300. But Oliviero, the monkish architect of the Palazzo di San Giorgio, is said to have built a mole with piles and stones, and it is clear that some sort of a breakwater existed here before 1245, for in speaking of the storm Bartolomeo Scriba, an eyewitness, relates that "About midnight on Saturday the 17th of December a great storm broke over the harbour of Genoa, and a number of ships were driven ashore, some were sunk and many galleys and other vessels destroyed. *The Molo was also broken down* (Mogdulus quoque fractus fuit) and never has there been such a tempest within the

¹ Malnate, *Della Storia del Porto di Genova*.

memory of man. When the body of St. John the Baptist and the True Cross of the Blessed Lawrence had been carried through the city with other relics, and thence *down to the mole* (ad partes Mogduli) and the sea shore, the storm abated, and the waves subsided."¹

Before many years had passed the little arsenal proved inadequate for the growing trade of the city, and a new one was begun in 1215 on the exposed southern side of the Via di Prè. Not much was done, however, and for many years the new arsenal consisted of little more than a breakwater and a partial sea wall. Genoa was too deeply engaged in the duel with Pisa to have either time or money to devote to the continuance of the work; but when Tommaso Spinola defeated the Pisan fleet in 1283 and brought home booty to the value of 28,000 marks, the Republic immediately devoted 10,000 marks to the completion of the Darsena. Marino Boccanegra was the architect; and it speaks well for Genoese resourcefulness that while Boccanegra's masons were building the slips the ship-wrights of the city were hastily constructing the galleys which in the following year were to crush the enemy at Meloria.

The Molo was lengthened in 1283, and towers and fortifications were added to the Darsena in subsequent years, until in 1402 the defences were connected to the walls of the city at the Porta de' Vaccà.

The Torre del Faro, or lighthouse, also called the "Lanterna," springs into history as Minerva did from the head of Jupiter, with a mighty clamour of war;

¹ Spotorno, *Storia Letteraria*, vol. i. p. 289 and vol. iii. appendix to vol. ii. p. 334. Giustiniani, *Annali*, sub 1283. Bartolomeo Scriba, in *Rer. It. Script.* vol. vi. sub 1245.

for when first mentioned—in 1318—it is already full-grown and valiantly defended by a few men against an army. These were the days when the Grimaldi and Fieschi held the city in the name of the Guelfs ; and the Ghibelline Spinola and D' Oria, having seized Albenga and Savona, gathered their forces at Gavi, and assailed the walls from the Polcevera valley. The first obstacle in their path was the Torre della Lanterna, held by only seven men ; and siege was laid to it with the utmost vigour. In spite of threats and assaults the devoted little garrison held out for two months against the whole strength of the Ghibellines, receiving ammunition and provisions at such times as they could be transported with safety. On dark nights a galley would steal out of the port, anchor under the rock, and throw a rope from mast to fortress, along which a basket was run with stores, and with messages of admiring encouragement from those in the city. Then rough weather set in, and no supplies were received ; but still the seven held out, desperate and starving, watching the enemy whom they could no longer keep at a distance for lack of missiles, swarming round the base of the tower, and mining into the live rock beneath them. Day after day passed with no sign from the city ; day after day saw the tunnel eating deeper into the foundations. At length one of the garrison crept out, and went to tell the Guelfs of their condition. It was too late ; for the mining operations were complete, and the tower stood, and stood unsteadily, on wooden struts. Summoned to surrender, the remaining six asked and received permission to go back unmolested to Genoa ; and worn with their unceasing labours, weak from want of food, the band of heroes crawled rather than

walked to the city gates, whither the Capitani, the Podestà and the Abbate of the people had gone out to greet them, followed by a great crowd of angry townsmen in whose breasts the milk of human kindness flowed not. They forgot the brave deeds of these brave men; forgot the gallant defence which had endured for two months, and demanded that the men who had yielded should die the death of traitors. The Signoria was powerless before the storm, and were compelled to give them up to the fury of the mob.

That same day four fearless men, stripped and pinioned, were laid upon the creaking mangonels near Fassuolo, and a moment later were sent hurtling through the air to fall crushed, broken and lifeless into Ghibelline camp in the Polcevera. The other three were cast by the slings of San Stefano to find peace and eternity in the valley of the Bisagno.

No portion of the defences has seen so many changes as the rock on which the Lanterna stands. It seems probable that the old tower which had been so bravely defended either fell, or was pulled down soon afterwards, as in 1323 the rock was fortified and surrounded with walls, a moat and two ravelins, or demilunes. It was provided with a light three years later, and it is to be supposed that previous to that date the primitive bonfire signals had been kindled nightly in front of the tower. In the same year a light was placed on the Molo Vecchio.

The lighthouse tower is believed to be all that remains of the *Briglia*, or "bridle" which Louis XII. built here to curb the Genoese in 1507. Genoa had been in the hands of France since 1500, and began to exhibit a desire to be free which was increased when



LA LANTERNA

five years later Louis refused to permit the submission of Pisa to her ancient rival. The Doge, Paolo di Novi, who had been set up in defiance of the Governor, boldly opposed the French who were advancing with the king himself at their head. Their efforts were in vain; Louis marched into the city, beheaded the chiefs of the revolt, extorted a fine of 200,000 crowns from the citizens, and ordered the *Briglia* to be built at a cost of 40,000 crowns—to be paid by the Genoese. For a month or two a thousand workmen swarmed about the rock, and when their labours were ended the hated menace was complete and ready to check any hostile movement in the city. For the few years that it stood there the new fortress had but one effect, and that was to goad the Genoese to fury whenever their glance fell on it; and they vowed to tear it stone from stone whenever the opportunity came.

In 1512 fortune turned her back on the French king, and the Genoese, taking advantage of the circumstance, once more asserted their freedom, shutting up Rochecouart in the *Briglia* whither he had fled at the first sign of revolt. All France's enemies assisted the Republic in the attempt to reduce the fortress; but though the Genoese ships, reinforced by Spanish and Venetian galleys, assailed it from the sea while the guns of the city poured a stream of iron into it from the shore, it soon became evident that the only means of capture lay in starving the garrison into surrender. A strict blockade was maintained, but when the defenders were reduced to the verge of starvation a large galley sailed into the harbour with the Genoese flag at her masthead, and passed the cordon unchallenged. Having safely got through the blocading squadron the new comer

suddenly altered her course, and before the Genoese had recovered from their surprise, and realised the trick which had been played, the French ship had anchored under the guns of the fort, and prepared to land supplies for the besieged garrison.

The careful work of weeks seemed lost ; when without a moment's hesitation Emanuele Cavalli, commanding one of the galleys in the blockading fleet, dashed in after the French ship while the beholders trembled at his rashness. Every gun in the fort was trained on the devoted vessel, and a veritable hell-fire enveloped hull and deck and sails. Cavalli did not waver, but amid the tempest of iron held to his course, threw grappling irons into the enemy's shrouds and began to pull away, while one of the crew boldly swam under the captive ship and cut the anchor ropes. The enterprise had been completely successful, and the French galley, laden with food and ammunition, was beached at Sampierdarena. Cavalli was rewarded with a gift of 200 ducats, and with his descendants was exempted from all taxation.

The Briglia, however, still held out ; and it was due rather to the defeat of Louis XII. at Novara than to the attacks of Andrea D' Oria with a fleet of nineteen ships that the French at last surrendered the fortress, marching out on August 26th, 1514, with all the honours of war. The same day Ottaviano Fregoso, the Doge, went with the Signoria in procession to the Capo di Faro, and with his own hands began the work of demolition ; and until no fragment of the French king's bridle remained the Genoese ceased not from their labours.

The old Lanterna was ruined during the siege, and the inscription let into the wall of the present structure

says that "This tower, built by our forefathers and destroyed in 1512 during the attack on the citadel of the Lanterna, was restored in the year of our Lord 1543 and in the sixteenth year of Renewed Liberty."¹

With the exception of the building and destruction of the Briglia the harbour changed but little in appearance from the fourteenth to the beginning of the sixteenth century. The lengthy Molo Nuovo did not exist, and the older one was some hundreds of paces shorter than it is to-day. The one important work which was undertaken was done in 1416, during the dogate of the patriotic Tommaso Fregoso. The trend of the prevailing currents having clogged the new Darsena with a heavy deposit of sand, it became necessary to deepen the waterways, and the manner in which the work was carried out indicates that the ingenuity which had marked the Genoese at the siege of Jerusalem, had not deserted them. The mouth of the basin was sealed, probably with sheet piling, and an enormous wheel, 120 feet in diameter, built astride the dock. To it were attached twenty-seven large buckets (*ciconee*), and the huge machine was set in motion by a smaller wheel worked by ropes and cords, while between seven and eight hundred men were required daily to supply the motive power. A new *scalo* was constructed in 1457, especially designed for

¹ "ANNO A CHRISTO NATO CICICXLIH RESTITUTÆ LIBERTATIS AN. XVI. INSTAURATA TURRIS HÆC OLIM STRUCTA A MAIORIBUS NOSTRIS, ET CICICXII IN OPPUGNATIONE ARCIS LANTERNÆ DIRUTA." It is generally supposed that the work of 1543 is the upper tower, as the lighthouse really consists of two towers built one on the summit of the other, and each having complete machicolations. With regard to the words "16th year of Renewed Liberty" it may be added that events of importance were frequently dated from the year 1528 in which the city was liberated from the French yoke by Andrea D' Oria.

building large galleys, and in 1596 the Darsena was brought to its present condition, except for the two gates, one near the Porta de' Vaccà, and the other opposite the Piazza dello Scalo, which have since been removed.

The Molo Vecchio was repaired or increased in length by "a Sicilian architect named Anastasio" in 1509¹, in which year, by the way, the streets were first paved with bricks, "to the great ornament of the city." Alessi added another 600 paces to the Molo in 1553, and put the finishing touch to the work by erecting the Porta Siberia six years later at its landward end. This gate, in whose rugged strength lies its chief claim to beauty, was built so as to supply an elevated platform for heavy guns, placed there to protect the shipping in the inner harbour; and as its construction follows so closely on the Fieschi conspiracy, it is not too much to suppose that the gateway was erected partly so as to cope with similar risings. It was near this spot that the conspirators entered the harbour, and that Gianluigi Fieschi was drowned while attacking the D' Oria galleys.

In 1638 a new Mole was commenced upon the western side of the bay, the first stone being laid by the Doge with unusual pomp and circumstance, and for thirteen years the work was carried on without interruption until at length it was connected to the shore at the Capo di Faro. Modern enlargements and improvements have been many, but they do not concern us here. For our purpose the harbour was completed in 1651, and became a possession of such value that it attracted, as indeed it had always done, the envious glances of more powerful states. In later

¹ This date, given by Giustiniani in the *Annali*, is disputed.

days there were other fleets beside her own that sailed into Genoa's harbour ; and though the fleet of Louis XIV. did not at first enter the harbour in 1684, it took up a position extending from the Molo Vecchio to the mouth of the Bisagno on the east and battered the city for eleven days. The events which preceded this episode have already been mentioned, so that it only remains to speak of the havoc wrought by the French guns.

On May 17th, 1684, the hostile fleet of 14 ships, 3 frigates, 20 galleys¹ 10 *palindre* and 100 ammunition, provision and fire ships approached the city under the command of the Marquis de Seignelai. Seignelai sent a herald ashore with the French demands, and gave the Senate five hours in which to decide. Terror and curiosity had meanwhile seized upon the Genoese, and while some fled there were many who took up positions on the walls to watch the course of events. As the five hours wore on the suspense grew almost intolerable, and the *palindre* were seen to be approaching perilously near to the line beyond which no foreign ship was allowed to pass. Suddenly a puff of smoke spurted from one of the land forts as the first raft passed the line, and high up in the Torre del Comune the great bell swung frantically to summon the guards to their posts. The enemy were not slow to reply, and by a strange coincidence the first shell struck the house of France's ambassador, shattering it like a house of cards. Another shell fell on the crowded ramparts at Santa

¹ The broad distinction between a ship and a galley is that the former was square rigged while the latter had lateen, or triangular sails of the type still to be seen in the Mediterranean. The *palindre* were simply rafts on each of which was placed a heavy mortar for throwing bombs.

Maria della Grazie, killing four of the gazers and mutilating twice as many more. Naturally enough, the Palazzo Ducale became the chief target, and in a few moments it was struck and set on fire, burning furiously for several days. The Senate retired to the Albergo di Carbonaro, taking with them the treasure from the Bank of San Giorgio and the ashes of St. John the Baptist under a strong Spanish escort, just as the rabble broke loose and began to plunder the churches and palaces, intensifying the confusion which reigned in the city. It was practically useless to return the fire of the enemy, and most of the militia was employed in shooting down the looters at sight, leaving the corpses where they fell as a warning to their fellows. Four days passed without any diminution of the bombardment, and already the Quartiere di Prè, the Strada Nuova, the churches of St. Ambrogio and St. Agostino, the Porto Franco and the Palazzo Ducale were half in ruins. Tongues of flame leapt into the air on all sides, and above the city hung a dense pall of smoke.

At the end of the fourth day Seignelai sent in a message of the following tenor: he was horrified at the damage which had been wrought by the 6000 bombs already fired, and the Genoese had better consider what would be the result if they persisted in their obstinacy, and obliged him to use the other 10,000 projectiles which were still in his magazines. He gave the Senate until ten o'clock on the following morning to make their decision. But the Signoria replied that they could not deliberate under the threat of renewed hostilities; and once more the terrible storm of shot and shell began, lasting until May 28th, when Seignelai, having emptied his lockers into the heroic

city, sailed back to Provence. 13,300 bombs had been hurled at the walls, 2000 out of the 6000 houses and palaces had been struck and half of these were entirely destroyed.¹

The city appeared as if an earthquake had shattered it. Most of the streets and *piazze* were choked with the debris of masonry and splintered beams; and in many places there remained nothing but a heap of smoking cinders. The water pipes supplying the public wells were broken and the drains impeded by broken fragments, so that here and there noisome streams trickled down the narrow passageways and formed into foul-smelling pools whenever an obstruction was encountered. In other parts these streams mingled with the ashes and oozed in a black sluggish mass into the basements of the houses. In some districts the desolation was rendered more terrible by the stench from numerous fires, and the sight of the mangled victims of the bombs.²

Disasters such as these, happily for Genoa, were not of frequent occurrence, and it was rarely that the Campana Grossa was rung except as a warning of a popular rising of greater or less magnitude. On these occasions the proceedings were marked by an old world picturesqueness rather than by deeds of blood. The chief cause of these disturbances was generally some truculent noble, who in modern parlance, "resisted the law." One instance will suffice for them all. On the 27th of November, 1330, the Governor captured a robber who had sought refuge in

¹ Casoni, *Storia del Bombardamento di Genova nell' anno MDCLXXXIV*, says that 16,000 bombs were fired, of which 8000 fell within the city. A fragment of one of them is preserved in the Palazzo Bianco.

² Casoni, *op. cit.* p. 210.

the house of the Cattanei, or Malloni, and these good gentlemen, considering themselves affronted by his action, promptly collected their adherents and effected a rescue. On the following day the Governor and the *Abbate*, being desirous of proceeding against the delinquents, caused the Great Bell of the Commune to be sounded, and the populace rapidly assembled under arms before the Palazzo. The Cattanei, expecting reprisals, sent about the city to collect their partisans, appointing the Piazza di San Giorgio as a rendezvous. While the *Abbate* and citizens moved into the open space before San Lorenzo and unfurled the Standard of the Republic in a highly business-like manner, the rebels were hastily putting garrisons into the houses and towers and barricading the streets.

The *Abbate*, having duly caused a taper to be ignited and set before him, the Governor then despatched a messenger to the Cattanei to inform them that unless eight of the chief of their number presented themselves in the Piazza di San Lorenzo before the taper had burnt out he should command the men under arms to open the attack. The impatient multitude, however, could not be restrained until the time had elapsed, and before the sputtering candle was half consumed they moved off in a body and assailed the barricades. The defenders were prepared, and such a hail of projectiles was poured from the houses that the citizens retired in confusion ; and the Cattanei might have held out successfully had it not been rumoured that the Fieschi and Grimaldi were preparing to reinforce their assailants.

The Piazza di San Giorgio, now almost lost amid the narrow streets of the old town, was at the period of this event, the chief business centre of Genoa, and



PIAZZA CARICAMENTO

it is uncertain when the change to the Piazza de' Banchi took place. The church is scarcely visited save by sightseers who come to see the reputed masterpiece of Luca Cambiaso, the *Martyrdom of St. George*; and the only signs of activity are to be seen in the early morning, when a few vegetable and fruit sellers spread their wares on the silent stones and fall peacefully asleep in the sun beside them.

But the scene in the other Piazza is different. From morning to night the square and the street leading down to the Piazza Caricamento are thronged with business men who embody the modern commercial activity of Genoa. From the open windows of the Borsa, which though attributed to Alessi was not begun until 1570, two years after he had left the city, comes the hum of many voices with the occasional tinkle of a bell; and the flight of steps leading up to the red curtained door of San Pietro Banchi forms a pleasant out-door office, which is shared by stock brokers and beggars. There is little of interest within the church, and its mouldering walls seem sadly out of place. Taddeo Carlone was the architect of it in 1579, and it was built during a lull in the plague as a thank-offering for its supposed cessation. It is to the credit of the Genoese that though the plague continued its ravages they kept their part of the bargain and completed the structure, employing G. B. Baiardo, who died in the later plague of 1657, to decorate the arched portico with frescoes which are now almost obliterated. There is a *presepio* within by Paggi and frescoes of little merit by Ansaldo, together with the earliest works of P. G. Piola—in the spandrels of the dome—and several statues by Taddeo Carlone, among them the Zacchariah and Elizabeth which

will be referred to at greater length in another chapter.

At the corner of the Piazza Caricamento, facing the Palazzo di San Giorgio, is the old residence of the Adorni family, now a hotel, and over the arches of Sottoripa there are the palaces of Genoa's chief merchants. This is the part which suffered most from the Spaniards in 1422, an event foreshadowed by a thunderbolt striking the campanile of San Lorenzo and by blood-red snow which fell on the mountains. It is described in the pathetic "Lamento de Zena," beginning :—

"Zena son la tribulata
posta in pianti e amari doli
Milan Franza e Spagnoli
mhaño tutta insanguinata
Zena son,"¹

and describing how the city was overrun, and palaces, shops and booths were looted by Peschiera's army. "The crying of my women was heard by Varazzo's walls," and the velvet and brocades snatched from the warehouses in Piazza de' Cigala alone were valued at a hundred thousand crowns.

It would be a hopeless task to describe all the events that set the harbour round, and they would fill a volume by themselves. There is the Porta de'

¹ "Genoa am I, the cruelly oppressed,
Deep my grief and bitter is my pain
Since Milan, France and foeman out of Spain
Have robbed and left me sore distressed :
Genoa am I."

This beautiful poem of fifty-eight verses, entitled "Opera e Lamento de Zena che tracta de la guerra; et del saccho. dato per li Spagnoli. A li xxx di de Maggio. Nel mccccxii," is published in the *Atti della Soc. Lig. di Stor. Pat.* vol. ix. Each verse ends with the plaintive refrain of "Zena son."

Vaccà speaking of Barbarossa's visits; the Piazza Vacchero, where the house of the traitor stood and was pulled down when he was caught and executed in 1628, with an inscription of infamy marking the spot; there are the fleets which came and went and are gone for ever; and gone, too, are the memories of those light-hearted fishermen and sailors who went down to their boats singing love-songs to Minetta or to Zanina: always lovesick, sometimes happy, but generally dejected; as Cavalli must have been when he sang with delightful philosophy;—

“A beautiful vine where the grapes are few;
That's what I think of Love!”¹

or Paolo Foglietta—“Poro” as his friends called him in their kindly dialect—as he penned the despairing sonnet which begins, “Se questa è neve che ven da ro Çè”;—

“If this be the snow which is sent from above
As its whiteness would seem to proclaim,
Then why has it power to send such a flame
As scorches my soul into love?

If this be a statue on pedestalled feet
As its coldness would make me believe,
Then how can it walk if no daughter of Eve,
And stab at my heart when we meet?

But if 'tis a woman of earth's common clay—
And it is, I am fully persuaded—
There's nothing more sweet in Dame Nature's display,

¹ “Bella vigna, e poc' uga!
Diggo a Amò.”

See *Çittara Zeneise di Gian-Giacomo Cavalli*, collected and published in 1745. These sonnets throw more light on the life of the Genoese than all the historical writers put together.

Beside her the Goddess of Beauty seems faded,
 (Her face sweeter still would appear, by the way,
 Did a cold stony stare not pervade it!)¹

But the harbour of Genoa now presents a different scene. The high-built galleons which bore the D' Oria admirals to victory have been succeeded by the stately liners of the North German Lloyd, the Navigazione Generale Italiana and other great shipping companies. Venice and Pisa, her old-time rivals have long ceased to contend with her, and the battle for supremacy is being fought out between the modern ports of Genoa and Marseilles. The Italy of to-day is striving to make her great harbour the most important on the Mediterranean, and she bids very fair to succeed. Thirty years or so ago the patriotic Duca di Galliera

¹ With regard to the Genoese dialect, Ramusio pleasantly observes that in his day the Genoese were in the habit of writing always in Latin because the alphabet would prove unequal to the strain imposed upon it by the dialect as pronounced in Genoa and along the Riviere. Certainly it is not as mellifluous as the "*lingua toscana in bocca romana*," but that it has its own claims to beauty is shown by the original of the sonnet just quoted.

"Se questa è neve, che ven da ro Cè,
 Comme a ro sò giancheçça vei me pà,
 Comme diavo ghe poeu drento stà
 Ro foengo, chi me bruxa si crudè?

Se l' è un marmaro gianco drito in pè
 Comme ra sò dureçça poeu mostrà,
 Comme diavo fàlo a caminà
 E a tirà frecce comme un barestrè

Ma se l' è donne pù de carne e d' osse,
 In terra, comme a pà ben ho çerteçça
 Che vei ciù bella cosa no se posse;

Che l' è ciù bella dra mesma belleçça;
 E ciù bella sareiva, s' a no fosse
 Ciù dura ancora dra mesma dureçça."

placed half a million sterling at the disposal of the government for the improvement of the port, and since then three millions and more have been expended with the same object. Italy's hopes run high now that the Simplon has been pierced. Through this new line of communication with the north she hopes to secure for herself much of the carrying trade for India and the East, and Genoa is the focus for all eyes that are looking to the development of modern commercial enterprise.

Pisa and Venice perforce must live in the past : Genoa, like the fabled Phoenix, arises once more from her own ashes.

CHAPTER VIII

THE PALAZZO DUCALE

SITUATED in the very heart of the city stands the palace of Genoa's Doges: an enormous building whose exterior affords but the vaguest hint of its size,¹ and whose modern appearance strives to deny that for five hundred years it has been the seat of government; that it was captured a score of times by Genoese from Genoese, amid scenes of wanton riot and destruction; that it was set on fire by French guns; and that in the strenuous days of 1528 it served as a lazar-house.

Yet it must be admitted that the Palazzo Ducale is the most disappointing building in Genoa. The immense vaulted hall on the ground floor has nothing to boast of beyond its great size; the marble staircases are in no way remarkable, unless it be for the endless number of the steps: the Sala del Gran Consiglio and that of the Minor Consiglio were robbed of their pictures by the fire of 1777, and twenty years later lost their statues in the revolution: the chapel is in a state of progressive decay.

¹ Some idea of its extent will be gathered from the following facts. It houses the Post and Telegraph Offices; the Criminal and Police Courts (in the Doge's apartments), the Law Courts and Police Station. In it there are besides five or six Government Departments, a regiment of infantry, and a complete corps of Guardie di Finanza. Exclusive of the military, judges and officials, there are 1500 men employed in different parts of the buildings. The basement contains stabling for two hundred horses.

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It may be that under the dreary expanse of white-washed walls there still lurk the remains of frescoes, for there is one to be seen over the staircase, and two years ago a second was discovered when the walls were being cleaned for re-colouring.

In 1291 the Capitani del Popolo, Corrado D' Oria and Oberto Spinola purchased the land lying between San Lorenzo and San Matteo for the sum of 2500 lire, and built the Palazzo Pubblico as an official residence, the architect being Marino Boccanegra. It was evidently a small building, for after the form of government had been changed to that of a Dogate Antoniotto Adorno added a *salone* in order to bring it up to the new requirements, in 1388. Thus enlarged the Palazzo stood undisturbed until 1432, when—Genoa being under the seignory of Milan—Opizzino D'Alzate, the Ducal Governor, enlarged the Piazza, and added many rooms to the building. Previous to this date the Palazzo had not afforded accommodation for the men at arms, and as we read that they had formerly been billeted in different parts of the town, it is probable that the additions took the form of barracks.

In 1476, after the murder of the hated Duke Galeazzo Visconti, the Genoese rose to throw off the Milanese yoke ; and the Governor and his body-guard fled precipitately to take refuge in the Castelletto, rushing up the steep and narrow alleys which led to the fortress while the populace hurled boulders at them from the windows, and turned their flight into a mad stampede. The streets were littered with the lances, shields, and accoutrements which had been dropped ; and when it was known that the palace was deserted the people marched up to sack it "as was the

custom in those days." They took not only what the guards had dropped, but also all that was portable within, including even the doors and windows. The subsequent repairs involved an outlay of 3000 lire.

Before many years had passed the increasing magnificence of the Dogate afforded an excuse for complete rebuilding, and in 1591, exactly three hundred years after its foundation, the old Palazzo was pulled down and the present one commenced under the direction of Andrea Vannone, an architect born at Lancio on the Lake of Como. Of this erection, however, little remains except the general arrangement, for the façade and internal decorations are the work of later days.

Not only have the best Genoese artists of the time contributed towards decorating the walls, but many foreigners were invited to undertake portions of the work. On the staircase to the left is the painting, already mentioned, by Domenico Fiasella, still in tolerable preservation, representing the dead Christ in the arms of the Eternal. Round it are the four patron saints of Genoa, and underneath is the city itself. The coat of arms at the top of the flight of steps to the right has only recently been discovered, and was then so generously restored that the little St. George above it is all that can claim to be original.

The first disaster to overtake Vannone's Palazzo was brought about in 1684 by the French bombardment under Seignelai; and the subsequent repairs were not completed, apparently, till the end of the century, when it was decided to paint the ceiling of the Sala Grande. This announcement gave rise to much speculation among the foremost painters as to



PALAZZO DUCALE

who would obtain the commission; and both G. B. Gaulli and Domenico Parodi submitted designs which, however, were rejected, the former chiefly because he asked too high a price. The latter, by way of consolation, was employed in the Sala del Minor Consiglio, where he painted statues in imitation of marble. The great work was ultimately given to Marcantonio Franceschini, of Bologna, who decorated the whole ceiling between 1702 and 1704.

The commission for which Gaulli and Parodi had sighed in vain was destined to bring little fame even to Franceschini, for a fire broke out in 1777 and destroyed the whole roof.¹ Gaggiero, who was an eyewitness of the conflagration, has left an interesting account of it. He says that at daybreak smoke was seen to be rising above the roof, but that the passers-by "supposing that the Signori had made a great fire to warm themselves at, gave little heed to it"; but when as the day wore on, the smoke increasing in volume finally changed to flames "they began to grow suspicious (!) and concluded that the place was a-fire." Both the news and the fire spread quickly; the soldiery were called out to protect the public safety, the "buonavoglia"² porters, masons, and carpenters were hastily summoned to come and put it out, while every architect in the city was sent for to give his opinion. The fact that the powder magazines were

¹ Those who wish to form an opinion of Franceschini's methods may still do so in Genoa, at the church of S. Filippo Neri, where the artist painted the *Glory of S. Filippo* in the vault, and eight panels on the walls with incidents from the life of the saint. The latter are executed in tempera.

² The "buonavoglia" were men who for a wage took the place of the galley slaves at the rowing benches. The galley slaves proper were called *forzate*. Sometimes, too, a person who had been mulcted in a fine would elect to work off the sum by becoming a "buonavoglia" for a period varying with the amount of the fine.

known to be underneath the burning portion seems to have prevented the gathering of a crowd.

However, the fire was overcome before the magazines were reached. Simone Cantone, a Swiss architect, was called in to repair the damage, and the present façade is part of his work, as are also the decorations in the Sala del Gran Consiglio and in that of the Minor Consiglio.

In the former the picture over the doorway is by Giovanni David, representing the *Battle of Meloria*, and replacing the one by Franceschini of the same subject. That over the place where the Doge's throne formerly stood is by Emanuele Tagliafico, and depicts Lionardo Montaldo, Doge in 1384, releasing Giacomo Lusignano from prison on his accession to the throne of Cyprus.¹ The present picture in the ceiling is by Isola, a crude and glaring *Commerce of Liguria*. Domenico Tiepolo of Venice had already painted a picture in this panel after the fire, but it is not clear why it was obliterated, and it could have scarcely been worse than the present one. He also painted the two panels which are now blank, and his works remained as late as the year 1848 when Alizeri mentions them as still existing. In the niches along the walls once stood four statues by Domenico Parodi, which escaped the fire only to be hurled from the windows and smashed to atoms on the pavement below by the rioters who, in 1797, sacked the Palazzo and at the same time wreaked a vandal vengeance on the two magnificent statues of Andrea D' Oria, and his

¹ It will be remembered that when Genoa conquered Cyprus in 1372, Giacomo and his sons had been sent to Genoa as hostages. When Pierino died Giacomo succeeded, and was immediately released by the Republic.

kinsman Gianandrea which stood on the pedestals at the foot of the steps in the Piazza. The remnants of these two statues are now under the quiet arches of the cloister of San Matteo.

The Sala del Minor Consiglio opens out of the Sala Grande, and tells the same story of relays of artists steadily decreasing in merit. Two pictures by Solimbene, the *Landing of Columbus in America* and the *Arrival of the Ashes of the Baptist in Genoa*, were destroyed by fire, and the present ones —of the same subjects—are the work of C. G. Ratti, better known as the historian who did for Genoa what Vasari did for Florence and other cities in recording the lives of their artists. There is a curious anachronism in the second picture, for the relics which were brought here in 1097 are shown as being carried in the casket which was not made until the fifteenth century.

Franceschini's paintings in the ceiling have gone, and those by Ratti, had they been allowed to remain would have afforded an opportunity of forming some idea of Parodi's rejected designs for the Sala Grande; for Ratti copied them so faithfully as to bring down on his head the accusation of plagiarism. At the present time the ceiling has two small panels in chiaroscuro which may be the work of Ratti; while the central panel contains a picture of the *Glory of Columbus*. It has been said of this that the only portion worth notice is the banner.¹ There is no

¹ It may be noticed that Genoese painters always represent Columbus as flying the banner of St. George, forgetting that the Senate refused to finance his expedition, and that his discoveries were made in the name of Ferdinand and Isabella. More startling still is the *Resurrection* in the lunette of the north-east chapel of San Matteo, painted by Giuseppe Palmieri, in which Christ is seen bursting from the tomb with the Genoese flag in his hand.

reliable information available concerning the framed paintings on the walls.

Quite near to the two *sale* lie the apartments of the Doge, in which, in order to enjoy the highest office in the state, he voluntarily submitted to two years confinement under the strictest supervision. They consist of a suite of eight rooms built round a private quadrangle, and are rather less rich, and smaller, than those in many another palace in Genoa. The largest of these rooms contains four pictures; one of *Force*, by G. A. Ansaldo; *Prudence*, by Dom. Fiasella; and *Justice* and *Temperance*, by G. A. de' Ferrari. The *Prudence*, a figure of a young girl, has been barbarously spoilt by the addition of a second face—that of an old man—to symbolise the two-faced Janus.¹

If the other portions of the Palazzo are disappointing, at least there is consolation to be found in the chapel. It has only been opened to the public in the last three years; and contains a fine group of the *Virgin and Child* which ranks high among the marbles in Genoa and is fit to stand beside the *Zacchariah* of Civitali and the *Baptist* of Montorsoli, both of which are in San Lorenzo. It was carved by Francesco Schiaffino, one of the last and best of Genoese sculptors. All the frescoes save two are by G. B. Carlone and are remarkable for the cleverness of the perspectives and lighting. The point of sight is the centre of the chapel, and without the aid of glasses it is difficult to believe that none of the work, especially the full length seated

¹ Alizeri, writing in 1848 (*Guida Artistica*, vol. i. p. 98) merely speaks of this as representing *Prudence*. It is unlikely that such an authority would have failed to notice the second face, and on these grounds it may be presumed that it is a modern addition. No other local representation of Janus exists showing more than the head.

figures of the Genoese protector saints, is in relief. In the ceiling there are angels presenting the keys of the city to the Virgin, accompanied by the four protectors. On the walls, *Guglielmo Embriaco at the Siege of Jerusalem*, *Columbus planting the Cross on landing in America*, and the *Arrival of the Ashes of St. John the Baptist in Genoa*. The two panels not by Carlone are the *Massacre of the Innocents*, attributed to Pellegrino Piola¹; but evidently by a prentice hand, and that near the left hand window. They are probably both by Carlone's pupils.

As the visitor leaves the Palazzo he should by no means omit to go down the narrow street beside it, in which the proud Torre del Comune rears its hoary head; for in it hangs the Campana Grossa which was cast by Guglielmo di Montaldo in 1289, and which for centuries called the Genoese together on all occasions of importance, whether it were to repel an enemy, hunt down an outlawed noble, welcome a foreign lord or to rejoice at his overthrow. It was somewhere here, perhaps at the window about twenty feet up and protected by forbidding bars, that the heads of traitors to the state were exposed, while a lasting record of their shame was graven upon the very walls themselves. Two of these stones of infamy still remain; one—put up to perpetuate the crimes of Gianpaolo Balbi, who, dazzled by the prospect of becoming Arch-Duke of Liguria and Corsica, plotted to hand over the city to the French; and being taken was beheaded—is framed in sentences

¹ There are a great many pictures in Genoa attributed without the slightest probability to this gifted but unfortunate youth. Knowing the esteem in which his works are held, every church and palace seems to have set aside an un-named daub and called it "an early work of Pellegrino Piola."

which must have soothed even the most vindictive soul :—

“To Gian Paolo Balbi, vilest of men and soaked in iniquity, a foul murderer and assassin, a clipper of good coin and an utterer of false : a notorious thief and plunderer of the revenues ; who was found guilty of a villainous plot against the majesty of the Republic and his own country. His goods were sold by the State, and all his children made outlaws. He himself was hung as a felon. This stone is erected in the year 1650 to the eternal ignominy of his execrable memory.”¹

The stone raised to Giulio Cesare Vacchero, it will be remembered, is placed on the spot where his house once stood ; and that which was decreed by the Senate after the death of Stefano Raggio, whose conspiracy followed immediately after that of Balbi, has disappeared.

It was a period of plottings and unrest, and twenty years after the death of Balbi Rafaele della Torre offered his services to the Duke of Savoy and began to conspire against the Republic. His machinations were revealed by an accomplice, and della Torre only escaped death by immediate flight. The second stone of infamy on the Tower is that which was placed to commemorate his treachery ; and translated into English, runs :—

“Rafaele della Torre, who by every art stole other

¹ IOANNI PAOLO BALBI HOMINUM PESSIMO, FLAGITIIS OMNIBUS IMBUTO IMPURO, SICARIO, MONETÆ PROBATÆ, ADULTERINÆ, TONSORI, CONFLATORI INSIGNI FURI, ET VECTIGALIVM FAMOSO EXPILATORI OB NEFARIAM IN REM. CONSPIRATIONEM PERDUELLI MAIESTATIS PUBLICATO, FISCO BONIS VENDICATIS ; FILIIS PROSCRIPTIS, INFAMI POENA LAQUEI DAMNATO, AD ÆTERNAM IGNOMINIAM NEFANDÆ SUI MEMORIÆ LAPIS HIC ERECTUS ANNO MDCL.

men's property; that shameless scoundrel, homicide, friend of robbers, and pirate in the home seas; a traitor and a secret enemy planning the downfall of the Republic. He was condemned to punishments only less great than his evil deeds; to be twice hanged from the gallows, to have his goods confiscated to the State, his sons banished and his houses torn stone from stone. Through this monument of eternal shame, raised by order of the Senate in the year 1672, let him be hated."¹

Although the Dogate in Genoa never rose to the same picturesque magnificence that it did in Venice, it may claim to have passed through more startling vicissitudes. Beginning with Simone Boccanegra as already related, in 1339, it continued with many interruptions until the year 1805 when Gerolamo Durazzo, Doge, was succeeded by Michelangelo Cambiaso, mayor.

Simone Boccanegra, an earnest and farseeing patriot, was probably the only man of his day capable of saving the Republic from self-ruin. As soon as he found himself unable to do his duty he resigned (1344); but when the Milanese yoke grew intolerable he was the first to offer his services against them and became Doge again in 1356. He was poisoned in 1363, and elaborate machinery was developed for the election of his successor. The general parliament elected twenty

¹ RAFAEL DE TURRIQ VII. ALIENE, SUBSTANTIE, CUNCTIS ARTIBUS EXPILATOR, IMPROBUS, HOMICIDA, PREDONUM CONSORS, ET IN PATRIO MARI PIRATA, PRODITOR, ET IN MAIESTATEM PERDUELLIS MACHINATO REIP:CE EXCIDIO, SUPPLICIIS ENORMITATE SCELERUM SUPERATIS, FURCARUM SUSPENDIO ITERATO DAMNATUS, ADSRIPTIS FISCO BONIS, PROSCRIPTIS FILIIS, DIRUTIS IMMOBILIBUS, HOC PERENNI IGNOMINIE MONUMENTO EX S. C. DETESTIBILIS ESTO. ANNO MDCLXXII.

men, who in their turn elected a committee of sixty. The sixty then chose, not necessarily from among themselves, a smaller body of forty members, and these elected a further body of twenty-one, whose duty it was to select ten men from among whom the actual Doge was chosen by lot.¹

Out of this bewildering piece of jugglery Gabrielle Adorno emerged as Doge of Genoa, and remained in office until, in 1378, Domenico Fregoso marched up with a strong force, burnt down the doors of the palace, turned out Adorno and became Doge.

The elective process was, in fact, nearly always honoured in the breach, and from 1383 till 1396 there followed such a delirious succession of Doges as almost to defy description. The four families who regarded the office as their peculiar prerogative left no stone unturned in order to win it ; and the mere fact that Nicolò Guarchi was in possession in 1383 was sufficient reason why the Adorni, Fregosi and Montaldi should plot his downfall. Accordingly a band of 3000 men under Antoniotto Adorno attacked the Palace and

¹ This elaborate system was evidently modelled on that of Venice. In 1268 the Doge of Venice was selected as follows. The Gran Consiglio, consisting of every male over the age of thirty, was called upon to elect a committee of thirty, who weeded out their number (by vote) until it was reduced to nine. The nine then proceeded to elect, with at least seven votes each, a further group of forty. The forty reduced their number to twelve ; who, with nine votes per head, elected a group of twenty-five. The twenty-five, having in the same manner reduced themselves to nine, then elected a fresh group of forty-five new electors with at least seven votes apiece. Afterwards the forty-five were pared down until only eleven remained ; and these had to elect another group of forty-one with nine votes each. The forty-one finally elected the Doge, who had to receive at least twenty-five votes. See Daru, *Histoire de la République de Venise*, vol. i. p. 430. If the system broke down at any stage it had to begin all over again. It must have been a stimulating amusement for all concerned.

having chased the Doge to San Lorenzo, whence he escaped from the city by sea, held an informal meeting in the Palazzo Ducale, and elected Federico Pagana as his successor. But when Antoniotto joined the revolt against Guarchi, he had done so to secure his own election; and, to make assurance doubly sure, gathered his friends in an upper chamber, and was duly elected by them. He then marched downstairs, ejected the other Doge, and turned his supporters into the street. Adorno reigned twenty-four hours: for on the following day Lionardo Montaldo called a council of forty electors in San Siro and in turn became Doge. Thenceforward Doge succeeded to Doge with the ease and frequency of dissolving views, until in 1393 there came a climax which would vie with the broadest farce of the pantomime stage.

Antoniotto Adorno had become Doge for the second time,¹ and in due course was driven from the throne by Giacomo Fregoso. This was in 1389, and three years later Antoniotto again appeared at the head of 7000 men. He marched to the Palazzo Ducale, and after supping with Fregoso on the most friendly terms, thanked him for the able manner in which he had "acted as his deputy" during his own unavoidable absence from Genoa, escorted him to the door, and showed him out. Thus began Antoniotto's third tenure of office, which, however, was rudely interrupted by Antonio Montaldo, who with only 500 men, drove him into renewed exile. For this service Montaldo was elected Doge for life, and might have held his position for an unusual length of time had it not been for the energetic measures of Adorno.

¹ He was four times Doge of Genoa between 1378 and 1398, in which latter year the plague mercifully removed him from the scene.

Clemente Promontorio marched up on his behalf with a thousand men, and vigorously attacked the palace. The Fregoso faction, seeing Montaldo's approaching downfall, had joined forces with him, and when he fled, pursued by the Adorni, Pietro Fregoso rushed into the great hall, and frantically bade his followers proclaim him Doge of Genoa. At this moment Clemente Promontorio broke down the doors, and bursting into the hall, drove out Fregoso. Hitherto he had posed as the friend of Adorno, but to the astonishment even of his own adherents Promontorio snatched up the insignia of office, put on the robes of state, and whispered to those near him: "Cry out that I am Doge of Genoa!" "Thereupon great consternation spread among the other Adorni, while new hopes sprang up in the hearts of the Montaldi, and a still greater agitation seized the Fregosi . . . and in fine there broke out such a hubbub, such an abusing of each other, such a beating and a hustling of one another, as no pen may ever describe. At length, and with much difficulty, all the electors were brought together in Santa Maria delle Vigne, and there they elected as Doge Francesco Giustiniano, a citizen of a gentle nature, and a friend of peace and concord."¹

Even the Genoese were scandalised by such doings, and in 1413 a new mode of election was tried. The twelve Anziani elected forty men by vote from among the merchants and artisans, and these meeting in secret had to elect twenty-one citizens from the same classes. The result of this election was not divulged, and not only were the elect summoned to council, but another twenty-nine were added, so that nobody might know outside the Palazzo which of the fifty thus assembled

¹ Varese, *Storia di Genova*, sub anno.

had been chosen. Once inside, the Chancellor called out the names of the twenty-one, and when they had been shut up in a private room the original forty and the other twenty-nine were liberated. The twenty-nine then elected ten men with fourteen votes each, and called up another thirty-one so as to preserve the mystery. In the same manner as before the twenty-one and the thirty-one were dismissed as soon as the remaining ten were secured ; and each of these whispered to the Chancellor in turn his nomination for the Dogate. The names thus obtained were placed in a box, drawn out by hazard, and announced. Each candidate, as his name was read, was then discussed and voted upon : if he secured seven out of the ten votes he was declared elected, but if not, another name was drawn in the same manner. Any of the ten might be nominated, but had to withdraw during the discussion as to his suitability, and had still to secure seven votes. If no Doge was elected another ten had to go through the same process.¹

It may be thought that this elaborate arrangement produced good results and a satisfactory Doge ; but as a matter of fact it simply brought about a civil war, and before the end of the next year 120 nobles—to say nothing of meaner folk—had been killed, and 146 houses and palaces destroyed. As before, the strongest candidate seized the office, and ruled till a stronger than he arose. Only one Doge, Tommaso Fregoso (1416), seems to have shown any patriotism. He was elected by acclamation, and was even freed from the control of the laws ; he enlarged the harbour, and paid off all the public debts from his own purse, among them the debt on salt which alone amounted

¹ Olivieri, *Monete, etc., della Spinola*, p. 204.

to 60,000 ducats. Four years later, when the city was hard pressed by Milan, he sold his plate, hangings and jewels, so as to fit out a fleet.

But most of the Doges were of another sort, and the palm for sheer villainy goes to Paolo Fregoso. He was Archbishop of Genoa ; but, more of a soldier than a priest, had fought with his own hands against both the French and the Turks. He had been the chief instrument in turning out the former in 1461, and had made his cousin Luigi Doge of Genoa. In the following year he seized the office for himself, relying on the protection of cut-throats and robbers. His rule lasted fifteen days, and then the Genoese again placed Luigi on the throne. The Archbishop was by no means disheartened, and inveigling the Doge into his own palace offered him the choice of being hanged or giving up the keys of the Castelletto. Luigi surrendered without hesitation, and Paolo, once more Doge of Genoa, wrote to the Pope to crave his sanction. The Pope's reply is too long to be quoted, but it showed that the Holy Father had a pretty turn for sarcasm.

Paolo Fregoso's tenure of office was, perhaps, the most disgraceful period in the history of the city. Murders were of terrible frequency ; he disregarded the laws, and introduced a reign of terror by keeping all his paid assassins fully employed. Violence and robbery were every day occurrences. This state of affairs could not go on long, and in 1464 his enemies, aided by the Milanese, rose against him. The Archbishop-Doge incontinently fled, seized four ships which were lying in the harbour, and having provisioned and manned them, set out on an entirely new career as a pirate. How he employed the next eighteen years

does not concern this history, but by 1482 he had become a Cardinal, and was admiral commanding a fleet against the Turks. In 1483 he again became Doge, and was turned out in 1488. In 1495 he was fighting for France against the Republic, and had command of the operations on the Bisagno side of the city. He died in Rome in 1498.

Between 1339 and 1528 only four of the Doges had been legally elected.

The great reforms introduced in 1528 have already been referred to in general terms, but so far as they concern the Dogate require to be considered more fully. The Doge was to hold office for two years only, and had to be elected in the following manner. Every member of the two *Consigli* had to make out a list of twenty-eight names, one for each of the Alberghi, and these names were then voted on until one member of each Albergo had been selected to form an auxiliary council ; which together with the two *Consigli* undertook the second stage of the election. This consisted of choosing by ballot four citizens as candidates for the Dogate, and when this had been done another twenty-eight citizens were elected in the same manner as before, and added to the original twenty-eight. The fifty-six persons thus nominated then reduced their own number to twenty-eight by ballot, still one for each Albergo ; and it was their duty to accept or alter the candidatures put forward in the first instance, arriving at their conclusions by vote. The final four names were then submitted to the *Gran Consiglio*, who elected the actual Doge by ballot.

This clumsy machinery continued in use until 1573, when it was slightly modified.

It has been abundantly shown that the earlier changes in the Dogate were almost invariably accompanied by scenes of violence and strife; and it would have been unwise for a Doge to make any attempt at ceremonial display, when the proceedings might be disturbed by the irruption of the opposite party. But when untoward events ceased to occur the style and title of the Doge made rapid advances, while a cut and dried ritual called the "Acceptation of the Doge" was drawn up. Simone Boccanegra had simply been called "Signore," but succeeding Doges were addressed as "Messer lo Duxe." At a later date the style of address became "Eccellenza" and "Eminenza"; and from 1579 he was called "Serenissimo." In 1702 Philip V. of Spain conferred the title of "Altezza"; though long before—in 1637—the Doge had assumed regal honours on the strength of possessing Corsica, and long vanished rights over Cyprus and Jerusalem. The excuse was deemed sufficient, however, and in 1638 it was decreed that the Doge should have a suitable crown, sceptre, and royal mantle. As the Archbishop utterly refused to perform the ceremony of coronation, the Abbot of Sta. Caterina was pressed into service, and the Doge received his crown in the church of that name.

The ceremony of "Acceptation," introduced in 1531, had to take place within eight days from the election. The clanging of the Campana Grossa announced the coming event, and proclamations bade the townsfolk close their booths and keep high festival until night. Preceded by gaily dressed trumpeters, and followed by the various magistrates of the city in their robes, the Signoria went in solemn procession to the loggia of the Albergo to which the Doge-elect belonged, where

he was waiting surrounded by his friends. Having gravely saluted each other the whole party proceeded to San Lorenzo, visited the High Altar and the Chapel of St. John the Baptist, and then repaired to the Palazzo Ducale, where the *Gran Consiglio* had assembled to receive them. As the elect walked up the council chamber the members present raised their caps to him, but remained seated. The throne, meanwhile, had been turned with its back to the audience, as a token that at the moment there was no Doge. The Doge-elect then took a seat beside the "Prior of the Governors,"¹ who, with the sceptre in his hands, made a short speech, followed by a much longer and more ornate one from the Public Orator. This ceremony concluded, one of the *cancellieri* read over the oath, and the Doge-elect repeated it to the Prior, swearing to observe all the statutes. As he pronounced the closing words the whole company arose and acclaimed him, while the Prior placed the sceptre in his hands. Outside the Great Bell swung joyfully, and every church and steeple took up the refrain. Trumpets blared and artillery boomed, carrying the news of the acception to the people.²

Yet with all this the Doge was but a prisoner in a gilded cage. He might not write a letter of even a private nature unless it were dictated to a *cancelliere*, sealed with the Great Seal of the Republic, and its contents approved by the Senate; and similarly all letters received were first read to the Senators, and then handed over to the Doge. He was only allowed to leave the Palazzo on certain specified days, and probably was heartily glad when the time

¹ The "Prior of the Governors" was the senior member of the Senate.

² See *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 3rd. series, vol. xiii. p. 194.

came for him to go through the ceremony of renunciation.

The proceedings began with Mass in the private chapel, after which he repaired to the council chamber, and with his back to the throne made a speech to those assembled. The Prior replied on behalf of his associates, and the retiring Doge was accompanied by all the council to the great entrance. Here he paused while the *Decano* said with a courtly bow :—

“ Your lordship is going early.”

Bells sounded his retirement as they had rung for his acceptance ; and in full state he was accompanied to his private dwelling, once more a free man.

CHAPTER IX

THE PALAZZO BIANCO

THE Palazzo Bianco was presented to the city by the Duchessa di Galliera, and as it is destined to become the art gallery of Genoa it will be convenient, before touching on the contents of the rooms, to sketch out the history of the Genoese school. It has to be confessed that Genoa's position was a very inferior one indeed, and it has been remarked that "nothing is more astonishing than the sterility of Genoa and Rome. Neither in painting nor in sculpture did these cities produce anything memorable."¹ As far as Genoa is concerned this is still more noticeable in architecture, for between Marino Boccanegra, who built the first Palazzo Pubblico in 1291, and Carlo Barrabino, who lived only a century ago, Genoa did not produce a single architect worthy of the name.

There does not seem to be any well defined reason for it. Such artists as did come to the fore were kept well employed by their richer fellow citizens, and the churches and palaces show that there was no lack of patronage: but with the exception of Luca Cambiaso and Lazzaro Tavarone, who were employed to paint in the escurial by Philip II., no Genoese artist obtained important commissions outside the limits of the Republic. A few wandered to Milan to fill minor positions: others at Turin were appointed

¹ J. A. Symonds, *The Renaissance in Italy ; the Fine Arts*, p. 181.

court painters ; and the Genoese school may have felt a thrill of pride when Bernardo Castello was asked to paint one of the pictures for St. Peter's at Rome. The subject was that of St. Peter walking on the sea, and native writers, led away by patriotism, affirm that it was one of the masterpieces in the basilica. They tell us that Pomerancio, when he saw it, exclaimed : "*Per Dio*, this Genoese wants to play the very devil, and rival our own painters in San Pietro !" Crowds flocked to see it, and were unanimous in its praise. Then in a mysterious manner the dust and damp so injured the picture that in less than a score of years it had faded from sight. None of the other paintings were similarly affected, and when the authorities decided to have it repainted Castello was not employed again. The Genoese claimed that the envy of the Romans had been the destructive agent, but it is more probable that the picture was considered unworthy to hang in St. Peter's, and was quietly removed.

When Andrea D' Oria built his sumptuous palace at Fassuolo, the Genoese school was still in its infancy. It is to be supposed that he would have employed native artists had there been any ; but he was obliged to fall back upon Montorsoli, the Florentine, and Pierino del Vaga from the same city. Giovanni da Fiesole with his nephew Silvio Cosini and Luciano Romano were brought here also to take their share in the work, while Geronimo da Treviglio had been decorating the façade before the arrival of Pierino. Both Pordenone and Domenico Beccafumi were introduced by the subtle Andrea to make Pierino work a little faster.

To watch these artists at work, and to learn from hem, came a crowd of students, and it may almost be



PORTA PILA

said that the Palace at Fassuolo formed the cradle of Genoese painting.

The commercial spirit of the Genoese may have enveloped art as it did everything else in the Republic. The annalist Bonfadio has left two pictures of the upper classes in the city in the sixteenth century, which in some degree help towards an explanation. Writing to the Conte Fortunato Martinengo he says: "I have been reading the first book of Aristotle's *Politica* in one of the churches to an audience of elderly gentlemen, who are far more inclined to be merchants than scholars." And in another letter to the same he writes: "The conversation of my friends is most pleasing, and if their minds were as much set on letters as they are on their sailing, I should like it better: for their intellects are of a high order."

When the Genoese took to painting they did so in a highly commercial spirit, as though great painters might be made by machinery. Art was a trade; and, moreover, a trade which ranked far below that of a cloth merchant, in the estimation of the worthy citizens. The action brought against G. B. Paggi to show why, having adopted the profession of painting, he should not be deprived of his title to nobility, is full of illumination. One of the questions put to him by the judge was: "Do you then really mean to pretend that your profession is far more noble than that of the silk, cloth or other merchants, in which it is permitted to the nobles to engage by law?"¹

The artists of Genoa, it has already been pointed out, regarded painting in the same light as they did shop-keeping; and when their children grew up they

¹ For details of this strange action see Soprani, *Vite*, etc., pp. 110, 111.

harnessed them all indiscriminately to the same calling. So it is that the records of art speak of four of the Borzone family who were painters, and five of the Orsolini. Seven of the Calvi, and a similar number of the Castelli, followed the arts. Nine members of the Piola family were painters: while no less than thirteen Carloni, after the manner of a performing troupe, went round from church to church painting and carving in turn.

The result of this wholesale thrusting of art on successive generations is to be read in the history of the Semino family. Antonio of that name, one of the earliest of the Genoese school, has left pictures which rank among the best in the city, notably that in the Chapel of St. John Baptist in the Cathedral, and the *Deposition from the Cross*, which he painted in Sta. Maria della Consolazione.² His two sons, Andrea and Ottaviano, in spite of studying in Rome and copying the pictures of Raphael, scarcely reached to their father's level. Andrea had two sons, Cesare and Alessandro, "alike professors of painting, and from whose hands there are many pictures" . . . however, they were far inferior to their father and uncle. They also had children who were artists; but painted so badly that finally they were obliged to give it up and apply themselves to some other trade.²

Until comparatively recent years Lodovico Brea has been considered the father of the Genoese school, but the claims which have been adduced will not bear a careful examination. It is not even true that

¹ It is signed "Antonius de Semino pinxit 1547." It is said that the name of Piaggio has been erased from the blank space by some enemy of the latter artists.

² Soprani, *op. cit.* p. 62.

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his works are the earliest which remain ; for there is a well preserved fresco, now under glass, in the cloisters of Sta. Maria del Castello, by Justus d'Allemagna and inscribed—

JUSTUS. DEALLA
MAGNA. PINX
IT. 1451.¹

Lodovico Brea was born at Nice, and his earliest picture in Genoa bears the date of 1480, while there is another by him at "Cimella near Nice" (Cimiez ?) painted five years earlier. His latest known work is dated 1519, giving him a range of twenty-four years which would have been ample for the foundation of a school if his residence in Genoa had been continuous, and supposing that he had successors who with justice might be called his followers. Alizeri thinks that Lodovico was the pupil of Justus d'Allemagna.

There is a very valuable manuscript preserved in the Beriana-Civica Library at Genoa entitled "Arte della Pittura," written in 1592, which incorporates what is known as the "Matricola artis pictoriæ et scutariæ," an evidently chronological list of one hundred and seventy painters, who were admitted to the *arte* between 1460 and 1470. Lodovico is not the first

¹ It represents the *Annunciation*, and is arranged as a triptych. The Virgin wears a rich gilded and embroidered under-robe, and over it a blue cloak. She stands at a predella in which there are two cupboards full of books. Gabriel kneels before her with a rather heavy face and thick neck, wearing a magnificent cope of cloth of gold with embroidered orphreys. His wings are of peacock's⁴ feathers. It is distinctly German in the multitude of details shown: the Virgin has evidently been engaged in needlework, for on the seat under the window there is a box of carded wools left open, while on a shelf there are other boxes. A bird rests on the rim of a copper basin in the act of drinking. Through the open three-light window is seen a landscape with figures, not devoid of perspective.

on this list : indeed, he only occupies the twenty-sixth place, while a certain Giovanni d'Alessandria is the first mentioned, though all trace of his works has disappeared. As far back as 1385 a mysterious Nicolò de Voltri had been employed in Genoa, but little is known of him. Many of Lodovico's predecessors in the Matricola are known from existing contracts entered into by them for pictures : of Carlo di Mantegna, or more properly, Carlo di Milano—sixth on the list—there are documents ranging between 1484 and 1501 ; and Giovanni Barbagelata, who fills the eighteenth place, is known to have worked in fresco in the cloisters of Sta. Maria delle Vigne, though not a single trace of these frescoes remains. The work was done in 1489.

It is impossible to doubt that many other painters, who, like Lodovico Brea and Justus d'Allemagna, wandered from town to town in search of commissions, would have established themselves in Genoa if they had not been prevented from so doing by the jealousy of those native artists who, in 1519, complained that foreigners from all sides came to rob them of their employment, "which was equivalent to taking the bread out of their children's mouths." In the same year they obtained a decree enacting that while a native artist still had to serve a seven years' apprenticeship no foreign painter, whether he were a past master or not, might open a studio until he had worked eight years under a Genoese artist.

Soprani's statement that "Brea taught many youths his own profession, and amongst them Antonio Semino and Teramo Piaggia,¹ were exact imitators of his

¹ The correct spelling of this name, as Padre Spotorno (*Storia Letteraria*, vol. iv.) observes, is "Piaggio." Those of his works which bear his signature have the words "Teramus de Plaxius."

style," does not bear scrutiny, for when Ottaviano Fregoso, between 1513 and 1515, invited Carlo di Milano and Pier Francesco Sacco of Pavia¹—sixty-fifth of the Matricola—to visit Genoa and instruct the youthful artists of the city, both Antonio Semino and Teramo Piaggio immediately gave up whatever method they had previously been following and copied the new masters; so that Lodovico Brea never exerted a permanent influence over the school at all.

The connection between the trio seems to have been accidental. Brea was painting in the cell of Fra Nicolò da Zoagli who was related to Teramo. Teramo saw him there, and perhaps brought his friend Semino to watch him at work: but they never learnt to paint from him. Semino² may have been the pupil of another Lodovico—of Pavia—who was established in Genoa.

Teramo di Piaggio was born at Zoagli, and died before 1562. He and Semino were partners in the sense that they shared profits, and signed all their works with their joint names. In only two instances, however, did they actually work on the same picture. Cataneo, son of Teramo, is the 154th of the matricola.

The fact is that Genoa never developed a clearly defined school in the same sense that Venice did. Antonio Semino, so-called pupil of Lodovico Brea, came indirectly under the influence of Mantegna through his pupil Carlo di Milano; yet he set his own sons, not to follow the Paduan master, but to study

¹ There is a picture by Sacco in Sta. Maria del Castello (fourth chapel of right) of SS. John Baptist, Thomas Aquinas and Antonio of Florence. It is dated 1526.

² Semino married the daughter of a painter named Lorenzo Fazolo, whose other child became the wife of Bombello, likewise an artist. Both these men painted in Genoa before the arrival of Brea.

the Roman school, and imitate as best they might the works of Raphael. Andrea, therefore (1525-1593), became a follower of that artist, did a few paintings and frescoes in Genoa, and then went away to work in the larger field of Milan. His brother Ottaviano followed him, leaving an unenviable reputation behind for quick temper and slovenliness. His skill in imitating was so great that for a long time one of his frescoes passed for the work of Raphael. But with all his ability Ottaviano lived in such a manner that few people were inclined to employ him. Even his brother refused to remain in the same house, fearing that the building would fall and crush them to death as a retribution for the sins of Ottaviano. In a fit of temper he had killed a pupil, and was sent into exile. When he returned he ran away with a young girl of good family, and kept her concealed from her enraged parents and the Bargello by dressing her up as a boy, and passing her off as one of his students. Most of his time was spent in drinking at the lowest taverns in the city, and he had a rooted objection to personal cleanliness. He generally went about in rags, and whenever he had holes in his stockings—by no means a rare occurrence—he saved the trouble of changing them by painting the exposed parts with a suitable tint. He died in Milan in 1604.

Pierino del Vaga found followers in the two Calvi, Lazzaro and Pantaleo: and Luca Cambiaso in his early days worshipped at the same shrine, working always at topmost speed from cartoons which were little better than caricatures. The whole school worked with the conviction that time was money, and Lanzi considers rapidity to be its chief characteristic. After Cambiaso came Lazzaro Tavarone

(1556-1641), whose masterpiece is in the choir vault of San Lorenzo.

G. B. Paggi (1554-1627), also a pupil of Cambiaso, picked up a style of his own, driven to it by force of circumstances. He was banished for homicide, and took refuge in Florence where, owing to the refusal of the dead man's relatives to forget the little episode, he was obliged to remain twenty years. This period he spent in improving his style, and when he contrived to circumvent the vindictiveness of his enemies by obtaining from the Senate a safe conduct "for a hundred years," he came back with a style faintly based on the Roman school, but reminiscent of every painter whose works were to be found in Florence. He holds an important place in the Genoese school, teaching some of the best painters of the succeeding generation. Pellegrino and Domenico Piola, Giulio Benso and Sinibaldo Scorza, the first Genoese landscapist,¹ were among his pupils; and G. D. Capellino (1580-1651) and Castellino Castello (died 1649) were his immediate followers.

Another influence making itself felt at this time hailed from Florence, and was introduced by Passignano and his pupil Pietro Sori. Bernardo Strozzi, *il Cappuccino*, or *il Prete Genovese*, and Giovanni Carlone both learnt in the bottega of the latter, though at a later period Carlone joined his brother Giambattista under Passignano. Luciano

¹ Scorza was born at Voltaggio in 1589 and died in 1631. "If he did but paint a flower he surpassed nature itself; his ripe fruits roused the envy of autumn; and in the delineation of animals it is not too much to say that he was divine." Soprani, p. 130. The reader has but to look at the *Sacrifice of Noah* and the *Parting of Abraham from Lot* in the Palazzo Rosso to realise how grossly the painter has been flattered by the writer above mentioned.

Borzone (born 1590) was the pupil of Titian; and at the end of the century G. A. Ansaldo (1584-1638) and his pupil Giacchino Assereto are to be found carrying on the traditions of Luca Cambiaso.

Then there came a new admixture of styles owing to the influx of foreign artists, which resulted in every youth following a different master and a different school. Native art is represented by such men as Domenico Fiasella, who painted just as his fancy dictated, sometimes in the manner of Raphael, sometimes aping Correggio, and sometimes Guido Reni. Fiasella was the first of the "naturalists."

The terrible plague which visited Genoa in 1657 did not spare her artists, and Sebastiano Ponsello, Giambattista Bissone, Giovanni Andrea Biscaino and Bartolomeo his son, Tomaso Clerici, Giuseppe Badaraco, Carlo Borzone, Francesco Merano with all his children, Giambattista Baiardo, David Corte, Giambattista Mainero, Giampaolo Oderico, Sebastiano Chiesa, Giambattista Monti, Orazio de' Ferrari with his wife and all their children, and Giovanni Paolo Cervetto all died in the same year. Valerio Castello, Domenico Fiasella and Gianandrea de' Ferrari died in 1659. The only survivors of the holocaust were Giambattista Carlone and Giulio Benso. Strozzi had died in Venice in 1644.

Benso lived on till 1669, and Carlone survived him by eleven years, leaving two sons Andrea and Nicolò to continue the traditions of the family. His three pupils Bartolomeo Passano, Tommaso Ferro and Tereso Lagnasco, never attained distinction. The unfinished works left by Carlone at his death were completed by Domenico Piola, who then became the first painter in Genoa. He died in 1703,

leaving as his successor his son-in-law Gregorio de' Ferrari.

As there were two men named Domenico Parodi it may be well to try and differentiate one from the other. One of them married a daughter of Piola, and was a sculptor only. He went to Rome with Filippo, father of the other Domenico, and studied under Bernino, but never rose above the position of understudy to his fellow student. His best work is the font with the *Baptism of Christ* in Sta. Maria delle Vigne. The other Domenico was a painter, sculptor and architect, though his claims to the latter title must be taken for granted, as there are no architectural works by him in Genoa. As a sculptor his best known works are the two lions on the staircase of the Università; but the unhappy animals are placed in such an awkward position, with their tails up in the air, that they seemed perpetually engaged in trying not to slip off, while the ferocity of their expression may be due to hatred for the sculptor who placed them there. His failure to obtain the commission for the Sala del Gran Consiglio in the Palazzo Ducale, which was ultimately given to Franceschini and Aldobrandini, caused him to bear a grudge against them for the rest of his life: for while he was employed in painting the roof of the conventual church of the PP. Somaschi, Aldobrandini was designing the perspectives. Parodi maintained that "prospettivo" was not art, and showed his rival by all the means at his disposal that he despised both him and his calling. The bitterness increased to such an extent that they refused to work together, and the difficulty was only overcome by Parodi working at the frescoes in the daytime, while Aldobrandini agreed

to proceed with his perspectives by night. This Domenico died from eating too much chocolate ; and strange to say his namesake came to an equally unusual end by asphyxiating himself while engaged in his favourite pursuit of alchemy.

It has already been said that the Genoese school produced little that was original at any period of its existence, and the names of Lorezo de' Ferrari, C. G. Ratti, and P. P. Raggi which bring us to the middle of the eighteenth century, call for no comment. Bartolomeo Guidobono was the only painter of this epoch who produced anything worthy to be measured even by the low standards of the Genoese school.

In sculpture the Genoese achieved still less than in painting. There is no evidence to show that the two Fieschi monuments in San Lorenzo are the work of native sculptors, and were they proved to be so it would go a long way towards demonstrating that during the century which elapsed between the erection of that to Luca Fieschi and the other to Giorgio the art made no progress whatever. Montorsoli was not in Genoa sufficiently long to exert any influence, and neither the Carloni nor their successors ever attempted to imitate him. Matteo Civitali found a follower in Taddeo Carlone, and doubtless Giuseppe and his two sons drank freely from the same fount. The Parodi have already been referred to ; and Bernardo Schiaffino (1678-1725), pupil of that Domenico Parodi who was a sculptor only, is best represented by the marble group of the *Virgin and Child with SS. Monica and Augustine* in Sta. Maria della Consolazione. He also finished the group of the *Assumption* begun by David Borgognone over the great portal of the Carignano church. His brother Francesco (1689-1765) was

his pupil, but also studied in Rome under Rusconi, staying there five years. His best works are the *Virgin and Child* in the chapel of the Palazzo Ducale, and the group of *St. Anna and the Virgin* in the church of St. Anna.

It would not be possible within the limits of this chapter to give a complete list of all the objects collected in the Palazzo Bianco,¹ and as the galleries are always undergoing rearrangement it would be useless to make the attempt. The vestibule and staircase are lined with sepulchral and mural tablets, together with many fragments of carving which have still to be catalogued. The sepulchral slab of Simone Boccanegra is here.

Among the most interesting exhibits in the room downstairs is an engraving (No. 106) representing the Bombardment of Genoa in 1684, together with a portion of one of the French bombs which fell on that occasion into the Hospital of Pammatone. There are also several relics to remind the Genoese of the heroic events which accompanied the discomfiture of the Austrians in 1746. The rising forms the subject of two crude pictures (No. 126 and No. 138), and the former is evidently intended to represent the historic mortar stuck fast in the mud with Ballila behind it hurling the first stone. Not far off hang the remains of his banner cheek by jowl with the splintered pole of one of the Austrian flags.

A fragment of Pisa's harbour chain which Corrado D' Oria brought back in triumph in 1290 hangs between the windows; and in the lobby leading to the picture galleries there is a cast of the model of Porto Pisano. The original is on the angle of a

¹ A catalogue of the chief pictures will be found in the appendix.

house at the corner of the Vico Dritto and the Borgo de' Lanieri. Beside it hung a piece of the same chain. The inscription on the model is practically the same as that on the church of San Matteo.

The statutory weights and measures, some of them those which were formerly kept in the chamber over the great portal of San Lorenzo, should also be noticed.

Putting aside the minor attractions of Garibaldean and other modern relics there are two objects lying in a glass case which, could they speak, would tell of one of the most terrible episodes in Genoese history. They are the instruments which were used in administering the Last Sacrament to the victims of the plague. The Black Death was a frequent visitor to Genoa, but by far the worst outbreak was that which devastated the city ten years before it reached London in 1665. It was first reported in Sardinia, and Naples became infected in March 1656. Shortly afterwards Rome was attacked, and 16,000 died in the course of nine months.

In the first week of June it broke out simultaneously in two places in Genoa, and soon began to gain ground, helped by the ignorance of the day which placed plague patients indiscriminately in all the hospitals. The city declared itself plague-stricken, and closed its gates to the outer world, grimly intent on wrestling with the scourge. A vast hospital was opened in the Convent of *la Consolazione*, into which all the patients from the other hospitals were gathered : but as, during the first two months not a single patient came out alive, the wretched victims, shaking as with an ague, distracted and possessed with a nameless dread, would stagger like drunken men and fall by

the roadside, rather than enter the abode of Death, called by an unseemly irony, *la Consolazione*. They lay in their hundreds in all stages of the disease, some suffering intense thirst, with swollen and blackened tongues lolling from between parched lips; others, seized by the most virulent form of the disease, relapsed into coma even before fever had set in, and died in an hour or two. The bodies in many cases were covered with hæmorrhagic spots which became livid, so that many of the corpses rapidly turned a greyish blue, striking terror into the hearts of the living. At times a strong force of hospital attendants would raid the streets, and carry off the shrieking and struggling sufferers to die in *la Consolazione*, while every now and then one of the bearers would throw up his arms with a hideous cry as though he had been stabbed, and then fall prone on his face spitting blood, and with the deadly pustule of the plague upon him.

With the winter months the pest decreased, and by December the city was declared free. But in the spring of 1657 it began afresh, and by April was gaining ground. In the early days of June the city again shut itself up to cope with horrors which proved infinitely worse than those of the preceding autumn. Hospital after hospital was extemporised, until there were six of them; yet they were totally unable to cope with the number of patients. The grass grown streets and *piazze* were peopled with stricken men, women and children; lying helpless, feebly raising tortured limbs to implore assistance from the few who passed by, or crouching in horror as some one of their number, seized with the delirium of fever, fled towards the Cathedral shouting, "*The sacred oil*

of San Lorenzo is the only cure for our ills! I have seen a vision, and an angel from Heaven told it to me! To San Lorenzo! To San Lorenzo!" He sped onwards, shrieking, singing, laughing and cursing, followed by an ever-increasing crowd. They reached the Cathedral, and in a moment had entered the building, filling the solemn nave and aisles to their utmost capacity, climbing on to the altars to clutch at the sanctuary lamps; fighting desperately in the struggle to gain possession of one drop of the magic oil. Many are reported to have died within the precincts, while hundreds who had hitherto escaped the visitation went home with their bodies racked by the premonitory symptoms of the disease.

In the hospitals the scenes were still more appalling. They were filled to overflowing, and at *la Consolazione* more than five thousand persons died in one day, while during July and August between two and three thousand corpses were sent out daily to the burial carts.¹ As soon as one victim was dead, the blackening body was stripped naked and handed over to the burial parties, who dragged it out unceremoniously with tongs, while the next sufferer was thrown on to the rotten and filthy mattress.² The fetor was indescribable, for there was no time to spare for cleanliness. Living, dying and dead lay huddled in utter confusion; the air was heavy

¹ For the sake of comparison it is worth mentioning that during the plague of London Samuel Pepys, writing to Lady Cartaret on September 4th, 1665, says that 7400 died in one week, of which 6000 deaths were due to the plague. In Genoa the weekly death rate averaged about 17,500 during the two months.

² "I materazzi e i pagliaricci aspersi di sangue e di marcia, ed ancora fumanti davano immediatamente ricetti . . . ad altri." Casoni *Successi del Contagio della Liguria*.

with pollution, while a thick pestiferous steam gathered on the walls, and from every side there arose a wild uproar of groans and shrieks, rendered more awful by the frenzied madness of patients in delirium, who, springing from their reeking beds, would make brutal attacks on their fellow sufferers, and then hurl themselves headlong from the high windows to die on the stones below. Sometimes the madman was captured, and fighting desperately the while, would be fastened down on his pallet with ropes and chains, to lie till his heaving bleeding body quieted into death.

The disposal of the dead presented the gravest difficulties. All the undertakers had died at the first outbreak in the execution of their duties, and galley slaves were for the most part employed as buriers. It was found that to save themselves trouble they had stacked the corpses near the hospitals, and the festering piles poisoned the air until the State ordered them to be removed. Most of the dead were buried outside the Porta di Acquasole, carried thither heaped naked on carts, while the callous galley slaves sat up in front, and some even on the corpses themselves, making merry with deep draughts of wine. Bodies which had lain long in the streets were covered with pitch and burnt where they lay; but when the experiment of burning the dead on huge fires in the *piazze* was tried, the stench was so abominable that the authorities had to desist. At length it was decided to burn the dead at sea, and accordingly an old hulk was filled to its utmost capacity with a cargo such as it had never carried before, and towed out of the harbour. The men who had volunteered for the work set fire to it and rowed back to Genoa, whence the burning mass was clearly visible, and

reported that their task had been satisfactorily fulfilled. But such burial even as this was denied to the dead of the stricken city ; for the fire died out leaving the half consumed hulk to be the sport of the waves. The grey dawn of next morning showed dimly to the watchmen at Sestri Ponente a black and shapeless ship drifting towards the shore, the manner of whose going showed that there was no one at the helm. As the light increased and the Thing drew nearer it was recognised as the ship of Death, whose silent terrible crew brought a grim message from within the deserted walls of Genoa.

In September the ravages of the plague ceased, but not before it had claimed sixty-five thousand out of the sixty-seven thousand souls who had not the wherewithal to flee the city ; and it was many months before the twenty-eight thousand who had made good their escape at the first outbreak could be persuaded to return, and that the Republic made any attempt to reorganise the business of the state.

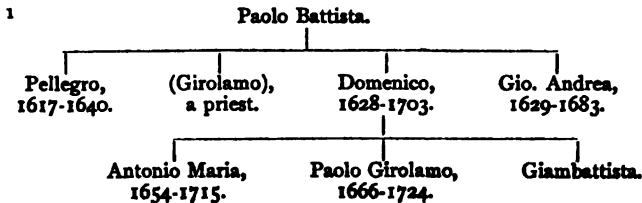
In the lobby at the top of the stairs there hangs a *Flagellation* by Assereto, which is noticeable as being one of his few oil paintings. Three works by G. B. Carlone, the *Miraculous Draught of Fishes*, a *Virgin and Child with Saints*, and the *Calling of St. Matthew*. There is a *Satyr* by G. B. Castiglione, "il Greghetto," who was the pupil of Paggi, and finished his studies under Vandyk ; and four pictures by Domenico Piola, the *Child Christ teaching in the Temple*, *Charity*, *The Woman taken in Adultery*, and a fragment of a fresco with the *Blessing of Jacob*.

As so many of his pictures have found their way into these galleries it is convenient here to speak more fully of Domenico and the other eight members of his



THE MADONNA DEGLI OREFICI (PELLEGRO PIOLA)

family who were artists. Of the paintings by Pietro Francesco (1555-1600) and Giovanni Gregorio Piola (1583-1625) little is known. The latter was a miniaturist, who went to Spain and remained there until his death. Paolo Battista is only noticeable as being the father of Pellegro, Domenico and Giovanni Andrea,¹ but of these only Domenico was spared to prove his claim to the title of artist, for Giovanni Andrea (or Gianandrea) was driven mad by a cruel practical joke perpetrated while he was still a student, and for thirty-six years he remained a harmless lunatic, living on the charity of his relatives. Pellegro, pupil of Capellino, was not more fortunate. He seems to have earned both the envy and hatred of his fellows, who twitted him as "the new Parmeggiano." He was murdered by one of them before completing his twenty-fourth year. His few paintings are carefully preserved, and are regarded as the early fruits of a genius which was never allowed to reach maturity, and one which might have influenced the Genoese school for its good. There is a *Sta. Barbara* by him in this palace, and in the Palazzo Rosso a graceful *Virgin and Child with St. Elisabeth and the Infant St. John*, which Franceschini declared to be the work of Andrea del Sarto. His best and most interesting picture is that painted for the *Compagnia degli Orefici*, and now hanging (under glass) in the Via degli



Orefici. It was completed only a few days before his death, and it is said that envy of his success led to the tragedy.

Domenico began to study under Pellegro at the tender age of seven, and only removed to the bottega of Capellino on his brother's death. His best works are the *Christ teaching the Doctors* just mentioned, *St. John the Evangelist* (Sta. Maria delle Vigne), *The Last Supper* (Sto. Stefano), *St. Thomas Aquinas before the Crucifix* (Sta. Annunziata), and the *Sojourn in Egypt* (St. Ambrogio).

Domenico had three sons, of whom only Paolo Girolamo rose above mediocrity. He was the pupil of Carlo Maratta, and his best work is the picture in the Carignano church representing *SS. Domenico, Ignazio and Caterina of Siena*. He is the opposite extreme from Cambiaso, and was slow to a fault, even making completely finished studies of his pictures before attempting the actual work.

In the First Room the most noticeable picture is that which was left unfinished at his death by Nicolò Barrabino, representing the *Last Hours of Vittorio Emanuele II.* Two pictures, *St. James fighting the Moors* and a *Crucifixion*, by G. B. Carlone, stand in close proximity to the work of his son Gianandrea, in which are depicted the *Virgin with SS. Siro and Antonio*. The younger Carlone shows himself evidently influenced by his father's methods, but the bluish flesh tints coupled with the ultra pink extremities of the surrounding cherubs are unsatisfactory. By Dom. Fiasella there is a *Sposalizio of the Virgin* with hard and unnatural draperies, and the first of many pictures by Bernardo Strozzi representing *Sta. Teresa* accompanied by dissipated-looking cherubs.

Finally, there is the portrait of a young Genoese woman, with her hair falling over her shoulders, and her sleeves arranged in the fashion of the day.¹

The Second Room, besides two pictures by Guido Reni, contains the Greek *Palio* with scenes from the lives of SS. Lorenzo, Sixtus and Hippolyte. Each portion has an appropriate legend in which a part of the story is set out with pleasing simplicity. In the first row :—

1. San Lorenzo has an argument with the Emperor Decius concerning the golden cups.

¹ The dress of the Genoese women was always noticeable for its richness. When Louis XII. visited the city in 1502 the women, "whose costume differed from that worn in other parts of Italy, in that their gowns were cut very low on the shoulders and breast, wore short skirts which revealed their elegant white or red stockings, and dainty shoes to match. A large felt hat was carried suspended from the right shoulder, while their fair hair, after being caught up in a species of diadem, was allowed to fall in graceful curls round the shoulders. Their foreheads were adorned with jewels and precious stones ; and massive necklaces, from which hung gems of great price, encircled their white throats. The sleeves of their smocks (*camicia*), which were of fine Holland cloth, by no means concealed the delicate contour of their arms, nor the bracelets of gold with jewels of exquisite workmanship by which they were graced. The rubies, diamonds, sapphires and emeralds with which their fingers were loaded sparkled like the rays of the sun" (*Arch. Stor. It.*, third series, vol. xiv.). The upper garment was usually of silk, and the hat was only used as a covering when the sun was too hot, or when it rained. A belt, often studded with jewels, and from which hung a silver knife and a purse, completed the every day dress (*Atti di Stor. Pat.* vol. xxiii. p. 783).

The distinctive head-dress, now unhappily no longer to be seen, which S. Vincenzo Ferreri commanded the women to wear whenever they went into the churches, was a veil : "according to the precept of the Apostle." He was obeyed ; and the custom was revived by which the Genoese women, no matter whether of noble birth, or the daughters of well-to-do tradesmen or persons of low estate, covered their heads with a white veil, more or less rich according to the circumstances of the wearer, whenever they went out into the streets "and especially upon all occasions of church-going" (*Semeria, Stor. Eccles.* p. 78).

2. San Lorenzo, having given the lame and blind all the money that he received for the said cups, brings the cripples before the Emperor.
3. San Lorenzo is beaten.
4. San Lorenzo is put into prison.
5. San Lorenzo takes the Emperor Michael Palæologos into the church at Genoa.
6. St. Sixtus, Bishop of Rome, commands San Lorenzo to sell the cups.
7. San Lorenzo sells the cups.
8. San Lorenzo distributes the money to the poor.
9. St. Sixtus has an argument with the Emperor Decius.
10. St. Sixtus is beheaded.

In the second row:—

1. San Lorenzo in prison heals all who come to him.
2. He converts Tiburtius Callinicus his gaoler.
3. He baptises him.
4. San Lorenzo is placed on a gridiron over the fire.
5. St. Hippolyte buries him.
6. St. Hippolyte (foolishly) has an argument with the Emperor Decius.
7. St. Hippolyte is cut in pieces by means of copper choppers.
8. He is then dragged asunder by wild horses.
9. All that remains of St. Hippolyte is buried.
10. St. Sixtus is buried.

There is a sense of relief at this satisfactory disposal of all the characters in this little drama except the

Emperor ; on whom we may hope a fitting judgment fell in its proper time. But it is clearly evident that very disagreeable consequences always followed close on the heels of an "argument with the Emperor Decius."

This *palio* is the only one remaining of the many which were presented to Genoa on various occasions. The *palio* took different forms in different cities,¹ and in Genoa consisted of a piece of rich embroidery similar to that under consideration. Caffaro quotes a compact made in 1155 with the Emperor of Constantinople by which Genoa, among other things, is to receive fifty *perpari* and two *palii* every year ; and it is supposed that the one preserved in the Palazzo Bianco, of undoubtedly Byzantine workmanship, is one of them. It was the custom also to present a *palio* to a church or altar, and the gift of one to the church of San Sisto on the festival of the titular saint in commemoration of the Battle of Meloria is a case in point. Boucicault, while Governor of Genoa, endeavoured to abolish the practice by ordering that the gift of a *palio* to the church of S. Francesco, which had been made annually as a thank offering for the capture of Famagusta in 1373, should be discontinued, and a donation of 200 lire made instead on the day of SS. Simon and Jude.² But the practice was revived after the French had been driven out, for on the election of Giorgio Adorno to the Dogate in 1413 an annual *palio* in honour of the event was decreed to the church of S. Benedetto. By an edict of June 3rd, 1467, however, they were abolished, as the ceremony of presenta-

¹ See Heywood, *Palio and Ponte*, for a description of the celebrated palii of Siena, as well as for general information on the subject.

² Giustiniani, *Annali*, vol. ii. p. 225.

tion excited the populace, and led to undesirable excesses.

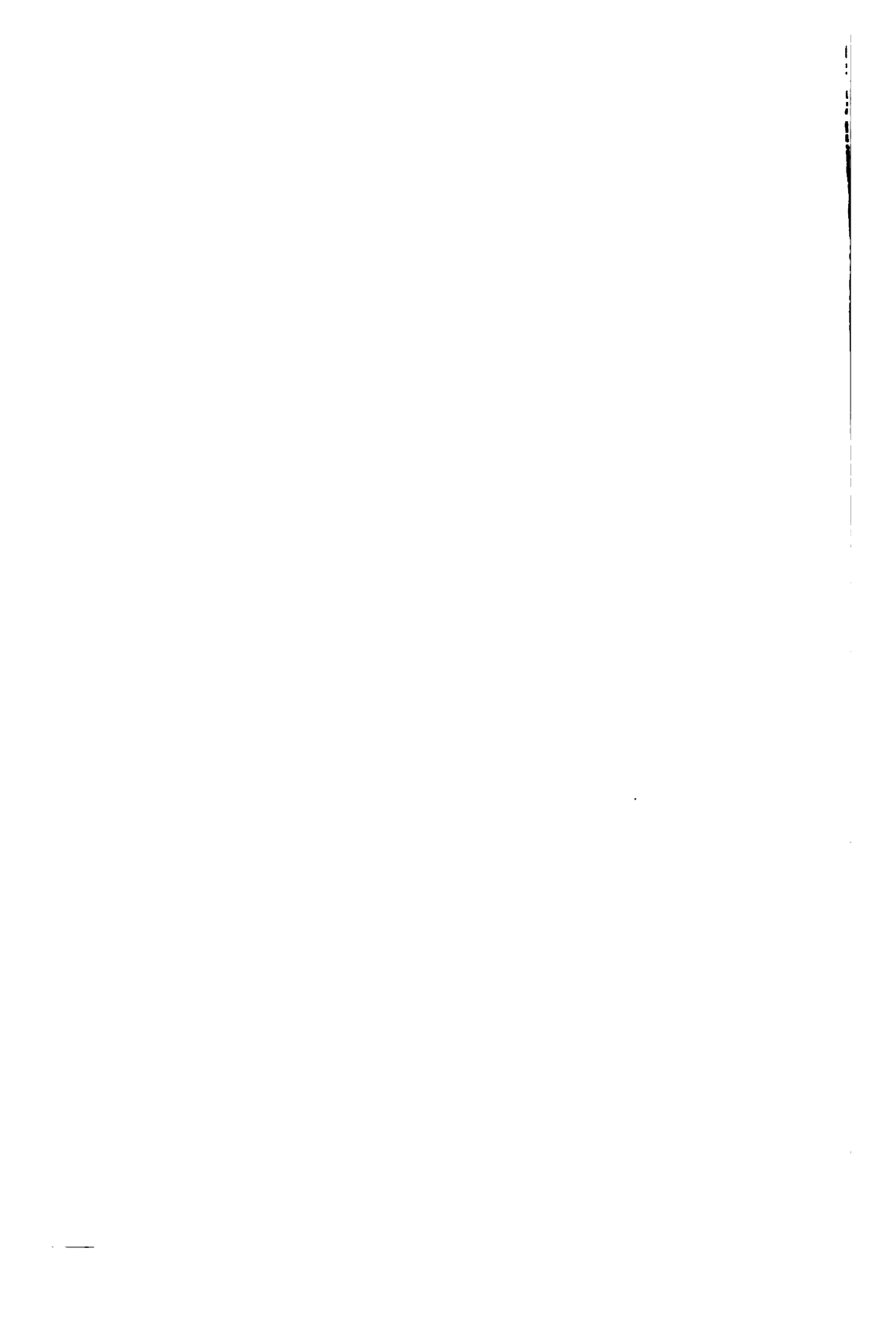
The Third Room chiefly contains works by Dutch and Flemish artists. Hans Memlinc is represented by a *Virgin and Child*; Rubens—who spent the years between 1600 and 1608 at the court of the Gonzaga, and was brought to Genoa by the Duke about 1606—by the well known painting of himself and his wife. Vandyk, too, came to Genoa and stayed for some months with his friends Cornelius and Luke de Wael, and painted the Titianesque *Tribute money* which hangs in this room. He appears to have gone away in 1627, leaving behind him a great many portraits which display an almost regal splendour of costume and accessories.¹ The room contains a curious *Last Supper* with a highly original treatment of the Disciple, who lay on Jesus' bosom; a portrait by Hans Holbein; a triptych by F. Floris, and a *Crucifixion* by an unnamed artist. The figures in it are unduly elongated, but dignified; and there is a simplicity in the draperies, in the pose, composition and expression which is very impressive.

In the Fourth Room there are three pictures by Murillo, an *Ecstasy of St. Francis*, a *Flight into Egypt*, and a half length *Virgin and Child*. By Strozzi, a *St. Francis with the Crucifix*, interesting because of its, for him, usually feeble colouring. Strozzi (1581-1644) was the pupil of Pietro Sori, and one of the few Genoese painters who really possessed genius. His

¹ His best works in Genoa are a *Lady in white satin* and the *Children of the Marchese Durazzo* in the Palazzo Pallavicino. In the Palazzo Rosso there are portraits of the *Marchese P. A. Brignole*, the *Prince of Orange*, *Marchese A. G. Brignole* on horseback (the first instance in which Vandyk painted the familiar grey steed with its flowing mane), and four others.



PALAZZO PALLAVICINI



father refused to allow him to study painting and consequently he was obliged to wait until death removed the obstacle from his path. Almost at the same time Bernardo made the great mistake of his life and became a capuchin monk. The endless devotional exercises of his order allowed him little time for the pursuit of art; but he contrived to finish a picture of Sta. Caterina which gained for him the good offices of influential people who represented to the General of his order that so great a genius ought to be freed from the restraint of the cloister. Shortly afterwards the General paid a visit to Voltri and sent for the juvenile monk. Bernardo made the most of his opportunity by borrowing brushes and colours from Ansaldo and promptly portraying his reverend chief, probably with a generous touch of flattery thrown into the features. Be this as it may, the General was delighted, and granted the artist entire freedom from the monastic rules for as long as his mother and sister required his support. He did a large number of pictures, and among them one—it has unfortunately disappeared with the demolition of the Church of San Domenico—which, owing to the scaffolding blocking out the light, had to be entirely painted with the aid of lamps. When his mother died the monks considered it time that Bernardo should return to the cloister, but the painter, not sharing their views, appealed to the Pope. It was decided that he must place himself under some monastery within six months, but that the choice should be left to himself. When he selected the Augustines it was found that he could not be admitted without the express permission of the Superior of the order. A long delay ensued while the negotiations were in progress, and mean-

while Strozzi continued to enjoy a somewhat secular existence. In consequence, his own order of Capuccini recalled him, and he was summoned to appear before the Corte Archiepiscopale. He was immediately seized, taken back and imprisoned in the convent. His friends made vain attempts to obtain his freedom, but the monks showed little inclination to part with their gay brother. At length, failing all other resources, Bernardo resolved to gain his liberty by dissimulation. He became fervidly religious; he repented him of his former worldly and wicked existence, and eagerly embraced the conventual life. He appeared especially to enjoy flagellations, and the other ingenious methods adopted in these days for the mortification of the flesh. The Prior smiled, the abbot was delighted, the monks chuckled and rubbed their hands with religious glee, and, after three years of close confinement, Bernardo was allowed to mix with the brethren. One day he obtained permission to visit his sister, accompanied by another friar, and leaving his companion in the anteroom he entered the apartment alone.

A few days later he arrived in Venice, where he remained until his death in 1644.

The Fifth Room contains the most notable collection of pictures by "foreign" artists in Genoa. The chief of them is the huge *Crucifixion* by Paolo Veronese, and near it is a *Child praying* by the same. Sassoferrato, the *Madonna* (replica of the one in the National Gallery), and a *Madonna and Child*. By Jacopo Bassano, a *Presepio*; Carlo Dolci, *Agony in the Garden*; Guido Reni, four *Sibyls*; Palma Vecchia, a *Madonna and Child with Saints*. By Filippino Lippi there is a large picture

THE PALAZZO BIANCO 195

on wood inscribed "A. D. MCCCCIII, PHILIPPINUS FLORENTINUS FACIEBAT." of *S. Sebastian*, with SS. John Baptist and Francis. By Correggio, a *Madonna in Adoration*.

The Sixth Room is chiefly given up to works by the earliest Genoese painters. Not only are there two pictures by Lodovico Brea, a half length *S. Peter*, and a *Crucifixion with Saints*; but another Brea—Francesco—suddenly appears on the scene, almost, it would seem, for the sole purpose of adding further complications to the vexed question of Lodovico's place in Genoese art. The researches of Alizeri¹ have made it clear that there were three Brea, Lodovico, Antonio his cousin, and Francesco son of Antonio; the latter being the Brea so frequently cited as having worked with the Padre Maccarij at Taggia.

Lodovico, now deposed from his high position as founder of the school, did three pictures in St. Agostino (now desecrated) and at the same time was painting two for Ventimiglia. His *All Saints* in Sta. Maria di Castello is signed "Lodovicus Brea Niciensis faciebat anno 1512." It contains a remarkable number of figures arranged in groups and planes so skilfully as to present no sign of confusion while there is great diversity in the expressions. It is the only work by him in public which can really be certified as genuine. In the same church the *Conversion of St. Paul* is attributed to him and certainly strongly resembles his style in spite of retouching.

Among the other pictures in this room there is a *Crucifixion* on wood which was brought from the cloisters of Sta. Maria delle Vigne; a *Madonna and*

¹ *Notizie dei Professori del Disegno*, p. xix. appendix to vol. ii.

Child with Saints on wood in six compartments with a gold background ; a *Virgin and Child with Saints* by Lionardo di Pavia (signed and dated 1466) ; and another representation of the same subject, painted in the Byzantine manner. This interesting picture formerly adorned the walls of one of the Genoese churches in the colony of Pera. It was brought thence before the Republic lost her eastern possessions and for many years hung in the Church of St. Antonio di Prè. When that church was suppressed the picture was removed to its present position where it hangs to conjure up visions of the days when Genoa was a great maritime state. The *Sta. Barbara*, the only painting by Pellegro Piola in the palace, is in this room.

Then follows the First Gallery with paintings of little merit by G. B. Castiglione, Cambiaso, Dom. Piola, and P. P. Raggi ; the latter an artist who was not above hurling chairs and other missiles through his works whenever a dispute arose with regard to payment.

The Seventh Room contains fragments of frescoes by Cambiaso, still waiting for arrangement. The same remark applies to the Etruscan remains exhibited in the glass cases. They were unearthed on the site of the Via Giulia (now the Via XX. Settembre) for the most part in front of the Church of La Consolazione. They date back to the third century B.C.

In the Eighth Room there is a *Crucifixion* by Tintoretto, an unknown *Madonna*, a *SS. Cecilia and Caterina* by Strozzi, and a modern painting by Cognet of the *Duchessa di Galliera with her infant son Filippo*.

THE PALAZZO BIANCO 197

The Second Gallery contains a collection of lace and a few vestments.

The Ninth Room is devoted to works by modern artists, and in the next and last room there is a collection of pottery and porcelain, much of it produced near Genoa or round Savona and Albissola.

CHAPTER X

THE CHURCH OF THE ANNUNZIATA

“WHENEVER I cross the threshold of the Annunziata” wrote Alizeri, “. . . even I, a citizen of Genoa, experience a feeling of surprise which renders me speechless before the genius which erected it.” It is a church of which he might well have been proud, and presents an appearance of sumptuous magnificence with its coloured marbles, paintings, and gilding; and the effect is enhanced by the contrast with a mean exterior. The present church was built by the Lomellini family, lords of the Island of Tabarca, and doubtless the façade would have been rendered worthy of the interior had they not lost most of their possessions before the work was finished. The Ionic hexastyle portico is modern and was built from a slightly altered design by Carlo Barrabino.

The architectural decorations of the church are the work of Domenico Scorticone, a pupil of Taddeo Carlone, and Gian-Giacomo Porta, both Lombards.

The frescoes in the vault are the work of six Genoese artists, working as though each one had set himself the task of doing something better than the others could achieve; and perhaps there is no more fit place than within the walls of the Annunziata in which to speak of the Carloni, Domenico Fiasella,

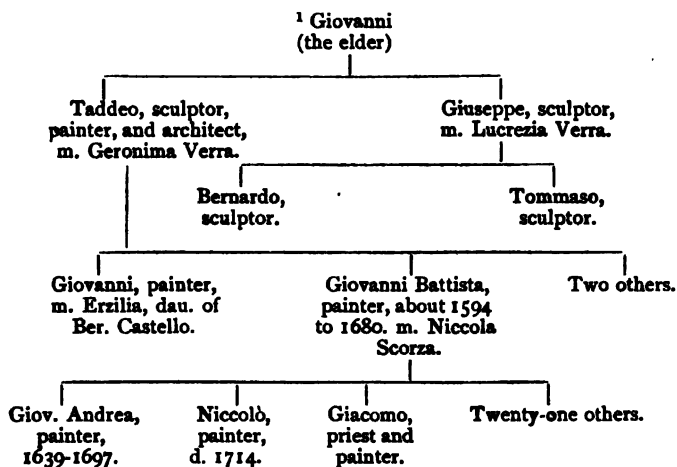


THE CHURCH OF THE ANNUNZIATA

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Gioacchino Assereto, Gianandrea Ansaldo and Giulio Benso.

Probably no family in the annals of Italian painting produced so many artists as that of Carlone. They were descended from a certain Giovanni,¹ a carver of arabesques, who left his home at Rovo on the shores of the Lago di Lugano about 1560, and settled in Genoa with his two sons Taddeo, and Giuseppe. Giuseppe the younger, confined himself to sculpture, and after carving the statues of SS. Peter and Paul near the High Altar in St. Ambrogio returned to Rovo on account of his health and died shortly afterwards. He married Lucrezia Verra, and had two sons, Bernardo and Tommaso, both sculptors, but neither of them did much work in Genoa, Bernardo being called away to the Court of Vienna while Tommaso was employed by the Dukes of Savoy. Bernardo's best works in the city are also to be seen in St. Ambrogio where he carved the statues of St.



John Baptist and the *Magdalen* in the chapel of the Cattaneo family, the angels under the altar at the top of the right aisle, and the statue of *San Lorenzo* in the chapel of *Sto. Stefano*. The *Abraham* and *David* in the same place are also by him.

Tommaso's work in San Siro has already been mentioned ; and there is a *Nativity* from his hand in the chapel of the Crucifixion in St. Ambrogio.

It is the elder branch, however, which produced the best artists. Its founder, Taddeo, was a sculptor, painter, and architect, though on what grounds his reputation as a painter rests it would be difficult to say. As an architect he designed the Church of San Pietro Banchi although the actual work was carried out by his pupil Daniello Casella. Like all the elder members of the family his chief works were done with the chisel, and many of his statues have already been referred to in previous chapters. In St. Ambrogio, a church which seems to have been ever ready to assimilate anything done by a Carlone, he carved the figures of *St. Ambrogio* and *San Carlo Borromeo* in the first chapel on the right, and that of *San Vincenzo*¹ in the third chapel on the left. The statues of *St. Elisabeth* and *Zacchariah* in the same church have a particularly interesting history. Matteo Civitali had already carved the *Elisabeth* and *Zacchariah* in San Lorenzo and it almost seems that Taddeo deliberately courted the judgment of critics, not only by treating the same subjects in St. Ambrogio, but by repeating them among his other statues in San Pietro Banchi. It is to be regretted that we do not know which of

¹ Most writers agree in calling this statue "*Sto. Stefano*." In departing from precedent I have preferred to adopt the name inscribed on the pedestal.

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the two sets is the earlier work, and it is uncertain whether he selected the subjects himself. In St. Ambrogio he seems to have set himself to eclipse the Lucchese sculptor, but perhaps it would be too much to accuse him of copying, and certainly he failed to reach the level of his models. The Elizabeth is a querulous old woman, and Zacchariah in the attitude of Civitali's statue, wears an expression the reverse of impressive. The two statues in San Pietro are practically copies of their prototypes in San Lorenzo.

Taddeo married Geronima Verra, the sister of his brother's wife; and Giovanni, his eldest son, is the first of the great executants in fresco. He is ably represented in the Annunziata. He was the pupil of Pietro Sori of Siena, and after completing his frescoes in this church and those in St. Ambrogio¹ went to Milan in 1630. His brother Giovanni Battista was the pupil of Domenico Passignano of Florence and did his earliest works in Milan where he was called upon to finish Giovanni's pictures. His first work in Genoa is in the spandrels of the dome in St. Ambrogio; after which he did the works in San Siro. These finished he began his great frescoes in the Annunziata giving them, in the words of Lanzi,² "a red that seems purple (perhaps too much of it), a blue that resembles sapphires, and above all a green which, by the subtle art of the designer, rivals the emerald." He was the best

¹ St. Ambrogio; nave vault, first bay, *Last Judgment*; second bay, *Ascension*; dome, *Paradise*. It was retouched by Domenico Fiasella, but the damp destroyed it and the present decoration is the work of a modern artist. Third bay, *Christ entering Jerusalem*; fourth bay, the *Adoration of the Magi*. In the right transept, the *Crucifixion*; left transept, *Coronation of the Virgin*. Soprani says that the "esquisitezza" of these works caused great envy among his fellow-artists.

² Vol. iv. p. 352.

colourist of his generation. In addition to his canvases in the Palazzo Bianco and this church there are five good oil paintings in the Church of Sta. Maria del Carmine, notably the *Descent of the Virgin into Purgatory* and *Christ appearing to his Disciples*, the last being the best preserved of all his works.

Throughout the eighty and more years of his life he worked with unceasing energy, and indeed he probably was obliged to do so as his wife added to his domestic felicity by presenting him with a family which reached the respectable total of twenty-four sons and daughters. By a merciful dispensation of providence they did not all take to painting, and only Gianandrea, the eldest achieved celebrity. He was the pupil of Carlo Maratta and wandered from Rome to Naples, Massina, and Venice. In 1678 he returned to Genoa on a visit, to which period the frescoes in this church belong. He then went to Perugia and stayed there until a pathetic appeal from his father once more called him home to help support his regiment of brothers and sisters. Perhaps the best work of this second period is the ceiling in the Palazzo Rosso where he represented the *Fates*; but there are a great number of frescoes by him scattered through the various palaces of Genoa which are inaccessible to the general public.

Nicolò Carlone was his pupil and follower, but went blind and did few pictures. His paintings in the Annunziata will be mentioned in due course, and his only other works are those in the chapel of San Francesco in San Filippo Neri.

Two more members of this family appear in history : Battista, son of Pietro, carved part of a fountain for Gianandrea D'Oria in 1599, and Luca Carlone in 1594 was at work on the Palace at Fassuolo.

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The last of the Carloni was a certain Diego, not related to those mentioned above, but also a Lombard. In 1732 he was in Genoa modelling the eight statues of the Apostles, and the four doctors in the Church of Carignano.

Domenico Fiasella (1589-1669), the third of the "frescanti" in the Annunziata was the pupil of Aurelio Lomi, then of Paggi, and afterwards spent ten years in Rome. Most of the churches in Genoa contain at least one of his works, but none of them attain to the level of those by G. B. Carlone. He lived to be eighty, and two years before he died painted his own portrait, which is now in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Ventimiglia. Soprani naively records that as he lay dying the doctors, not knowing the cure for old age, "experimented on him with numerous specifics, and that each new remedy served to aggravate his condition." And so Domenico passed away without having done anything of astonishing merit. Apart from his works in San Siro and the Palazzo Bianco there are two pictures in St. Ambrogio (in the chapel at the top of the left aisle) which deserve more care than they have received. They represent scenes from the life of St. Francis Xavier.

The large number of Fiasella's pupils¹ and the extent to which he employed them on his pictures make it difficult to judge of his style with certainty. He copied most of the great masters in turn and with the utmost impartiality.

¹ His fifteen best known pupils were David Corte, Luca Saltarello, Francesco Merano, Gianpaolo Oderico, Francesco Capuro, Giambattista Casoni, Francesco Gentileschi (son of Orazio—whose real name was Lomi), Gianvincenzo Zerbi, Gianstefano Verdura, Lazzaro Villanova, "Carlo," Carlo Stefano Penone, Angela Veronica Airola, Giuseppe Porrata, and Bernardo de, Bernardi.

Gioacchino Assereto, or in the Genoese dialect, Axereto (1600-1649) is more noticeable for a peculiar disposition and eccentric habits than for the number or quality of his pictures. He was the pupil of Luciano Borzone, but afterwards went to Ansaldo. Returning from a visit to Rome, "where he did not find those excellences which he had been led to expect," he received the commission for the frescoes in the Annunziata. He never worked but in fits and starts, and would leave off in the midst of a fresco as soon as the plaster was prepared, which more often than not necessitated the redoing of the whole. It was no unusual thing for him to arrange his brushes and materials, then suddenly change his mind and set out for a day's fishing, generally telling the unfortunate and already posed model not to move on any account as he would return in a few minutes. At other times he would break off in the middle of his work and, "to the infinite discomfort and pain of the model," entertain her with interminable concerts. The frescoes here, with the *SS. Agata, Appolonia, and Lucia* in SS. Cosmo and Damiano, and the *Incredulity of St. Thomas* in Sto. Stefano, are practically his only works which are available. His best work, the *Flagellation of Christ*, is in the Palazzo Bianco.

Gianandrea Ansaldo (1584-1638), born at Voltri learnt to paint from Orazio Cambiaso, the son of Luca. The events of his life reveal him as a man of ungovernable temper, envious, conceited, and very unpopular with his fellow artists. His designs for the decoration in the dome of this church—the *Assumption of the Virgin*—were severely criticised by his rivals, who claimed that they were unworthy of the position for which they were intended. The cartoons were sent

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to Florence where Empoli and Passignano were invited to give their opinion, and the decision being in favour of Ansaldo, he set hand to the work. His rivals were not pacified, and one day he was stabbed as he was leaving the church. He recovered, however, and lived to quarrel with his friends as well as with enemies, and to be the victim of more misadventures than usually fall to the lot of one individual.

While painting at Voltri he fell off the scaffolding and dislocated his foot ; and he signalised his arrival in Genoa by slipping from the gantry in the Palazzo Vincenzo Imperiale, where he was employed, and breaking a rib. On another occasion, while painting in the Oratory of St. Antonio, he was told that Giulio Benso had been instructed to work there as well, and immediately threatened the youth with dire penalties if he accepted a commission which he considered ought to have been his own. Benso was not to be moved by threats, nor was he any more affected the next morning when Ansaldo called on him and earnestly entreated him to refuse the work. At last, his small stock of patience exhausted, Ansaldo went away in a rage, shouting, " You shall pay for this, my fine fellow ! " Benso ran after him, and, catching him in the street, began to pay in advance. Ansaldo fought desperately, till Benso, snatching up a knife from a neighbouring shop, wounded him severely and fled. Ansaldo recovered.

Giulio Benso, the last of the group, was a painter and architect born at Pieve di Teco in the Western Riviera. Though he did not design any buildings in Genoa there is a hint of his architectural knowledge to be found in his pictures, especially those in the choir of the Annunziata where their lack of colour is

atoned for by their size. Except for these three and the one in San Lorenzo his pictures were done for churches which have been destroyed¹ and their contents scattered. He died in 1668 and left as his only pupil G. B. Merano.

The whole vault has been decorated according to a preconceived scheme with scenes from the life of our Lord in the nave and transepts, Old Testament subjects in the left aisle, and scenes from the New in that on the right. It should be mentioned that these frescoes were really executed *dry*, a ground colour being mixed with the wet "impasto" and the actual work being entirely done after the mixture had set hard.

The first three bays of the nave and aisles were decorated by Giambattista Carlone. The subjects are, from left to right first bay, *The Israelites crossing the Jordan*; *The Coronation of the Virgin*; *S.S. Simon and Jude*. Second bay: *Moses striking the Rock*; *Christ appearing to Mary*; *St. Paul preaching*. Third bay: *Joseph and his brethren*; *The Resurrection*;² *St. James baptising*. When the fourth bay is reached there is an obvious change of treatment in the nave, and the bright tones of Giambattista give way to the rather heavier methods of his brother Giovanni Carlone; while Domenico Fiasella in the aisles shows

¹ Many of the churches in Genoa have been destroyed in the last few years to make room for improvements which it must be admitted were badly needed, and others have become warehouses. The pictures which they once contained have been distributed among the remaining churches without a careful record having been kept of where they are to be found. It is to be hoped that someone with the requisite knowledge will take up the task of making a complete list of these pictures with their present whereabouts.

² The subject of this panel is not quite clear. It lacks the usual adjuncts which would pronounce it either a Resurrection or an Ascension.



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himself wonderfully able to adapt himself to the style of the former. Fourth bay: *Blessing of Jacob* (Fiasella); *the Agony in the Garden* (Giovanni Carlone); *Isaac meeting Rebecca* (Fiasella). Fifth bay: *Joseph sold to the Ishmaelites* (Fiasella); *Christ entering Jerusalem* (Giovanni); *St. Andrew preaching* (Fiasella). Sixth bay: *Abimalek embracing David* (Assereto); *Adoration of the Magi* (Giovanni); *St. Peter healing a Lame Man* (Assereto).

Assereto was probably introduced into this work by Ansaldo, to whom he went after learning the rudiments of art from Luciano Borzone. His panels are bold, but there is little attempt to adapt them to the style of the other frescoes.

The dome, it has already been remarked, was decorated by Ansaldo, but allowance must be made for the unsatisfactory restoration carried out in 1705 by Gregorio de' Ferrari. In less than a century the work had been so badly damaged by the rain that the greater part of it had disappeared. De' Ferrari was commissioned to restore it, but in spite of his careful copies of the remaining portions and many full-sized cartoons, he failed to produce a satisfactory work.

The transepts are the work of Giovanni Carlone. In the left transept vault there is an *Ascension*; in the lunette *the Supper at Emmaus*, for colour and composition the best of the whole series of frescoes in the church. In the vault of the other transept, the *Descent from the Cross*; in the lunette, the *Incredulity of St. Thomas*.

The choir vault was painted by Giulio Benso and exhibits a remarkable command over the laws of perspective. Seen from the top of the chancel steps

the ceiling represents an open courtyard surrounded by a gallery supported on gilded columns, with God the Father appearing in the clouds while angels descend to bear away the Virgin who stands on a balcony.

Following the sequence observed throughout this book the first chapel to be noticed is that at the bottom of the right aisle near the western entrances ; but before the visitor comes to it there is a picture just inside the door and hidden away behind the font and an iron railing. It is the *Crucifixion*, by Luca Cambiaso, painted during his second phase, but it is so badly hung that it cannot be seen satisfactorily. The accompanying figures of the Virgin and St. John are small beyond all reason, and like much of Cambiaso's work—albeit he is generally considered to be the best of the Genoese painters—the colouring is its weak point.

Luca Cambiaso, son of Giovanni, was born at Moneglia in the Riviera di Levante, in 1527. He served a hard apprenticeship to his father, who, anxious to make a great painter of the lad, would keep him a prisoner in the house until his drawing task was completed, and often punished the slightest incorrectness with military rigour. At the same time he was sent to watch Pierino at work in the Palazzo D'Oria, and quickly developed a style which out-mannered the muscular figures of the school of Michelangelo. This fault of his youth was corrected by Alessi, and already in 1552 he had changed to his *seconda maniera*. At this period he produced those works which are held to be his best. His frescoes in San Matteo belong to these years, though he already showed signs of that enthusiasm for his work which at times forced him to

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paint with both hands at once as though less rapid progress might fail to convey his thoughts to canvas. Armanino records that he saw Cambiaso at work in San Matteo. "There was a certain Luchetto of Genoa," he writes, "who within my recollection was painting scenes from the life of St. Matthew, in competition with another painter of considerable merit from Bergamo,¹ for the Prince D' Oria in the church of San Matteo. Indeed I have seen many and admirable things by this artist in the city: he worked with a brush full of colour in his right hand and another in his left, appeared to be dexterous and unwavering, and painted with incredible speed. I have seen more works by him in affresco than by any ten other artists put together."²

His masterpiece, painted during this period, is the Martyrdom of St. George in the church of that saint, which is so badly hung and obstructed by the altar and retable that the student is obliged to accept the criticism of Lanzi without question. He says that it is the best work ever produced by Cambiaso, because of the "beauty of the sacred victim, the expression of the bystanders and of the martyr, the composition and variety and power of the chiaroscuro." The S.S. *John Baptist, Luke and Benedict* in San Lorenzo is another of his best pictures.

For twelve years Cambiaso continued to work in this manner, and then came the tragedy of his life. His wife was dead, and her sister, who came to look after the children of the widower, bade fare to take

¹ Giambattista (or Giovanni Battista Castello).

² Armanino, *Dei veri precetti della Pittura*, Lib. ii. cap. vii. Cambiaso painted a Deposition from the Cross for the nuns of Sta. Chiara in three days.

charge of Luca's heart as well. In her he saw the too faithful reproduction of his lost wife, and before long decided, if possible, to marry her. In 1575 he made a pilgrimage to Rome, and taking with him two of his pictures as a present, threw himself at the feet of the Pope, Gregory XIII., and implored the necessary papal dispensation. Gregory was firm in his refusal to sanction the marriage, urging him to put temptation out of reach by sending the charmer away. This he did, but that absence which makes the heart grow fonder only served to feed the flame of passion. Weighed down by disappointment and with the necessity of providing for his family ever before him, it is little to be wondered at if he grew less careful in his work and painted desperately to gain money rather than fame.

When G. B. Castello, who had been painting in the Escorial, died, and Cambiaso was offered the position of court painter in Madrid, he accepted it, and with Lazzaro Tavarone set out for Spain. It was an opportunity not to be missed; here was a chance of providing for his children and possibly, with the King's favour and influence, the Pope might be prevailed upon to sanction the marriage.

At the Escorial his work soon brought him the personal friendship of the King, but he appears never to have grown accustomed to such condescension. More than once, while he was standing at work on his scaffolding, Cambiaso would feel someone slap him on the back, and turning round find that it was Philip himself; thereupon the artist would become so very confused and so very incoherent in his speech that he would contradict himself half a dozen times in as many words. Never once did he

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reach the subject that
ately decided to sound
tenturing to mention it
that his majesty would
quest," was his death
wards, and when the
hopeless, set himself
airs in order, and died

are to be found in the
ano, where there is an
Annunciation and also a *Deposition from the Cross*.
The former is beneath contempt, while the latter is
interesting because the kneeling figure is his own
portrait, and the woman in tears is the sister-in-law for
whom he had formed so romantic and unfortunate an
attachment.

The first chapel in the right aisle contains a *Massacre of the Innocents*, one of the few pictures by Andrea Semino which are still in existence. The vault is the work of G. B. Carlone and represents sundry miracles wrought by *San Bernardino of Siena*. There is a *Presepio* here which is said to have been painted by Lazzaro Calvi (1502-1607), an artist who deserves to be better known than he is. He comes of a family of painters, and it is to be regretted that so much of his work and of his brother Pantaleo Calvi (died 1595) is in private hands. They were the sons of one Agostino, a painter of Lombard origin, who, so late as the beginning of the sixteenth century, was still content to follow "the foolish manner of painting on a background of gold, which had been introduced many years before by certain Greek painters".¹ He began

¹ Soprani, *op. cit.* p. 71.

to break away, however, from their methods, and when Lazzaro and Pantaleo grew up they became pupils and followers of Pierino del Vaga. Lazzaro rarely worked without the assistance of his brother, and few pictures are to be found which were done by either single handed. Lazzaro worked under Pierino at Fassuolo; and in 1552, while Cambiaso was completing a fresco of the *Beheading of the Baptist* and Andrea Semino was at work on the *Baptism of Christ*, both in Sta. Maria degli Angeli, Lazzaro was employed on the *Birth of St. John Baptist* in the same church, while Pantaleo was doing a fresco of the *Baptist preaching in the Wilderness*. This recognition of his merits made it all the harder for Lazzaro to bear, when Andrea D' Oria selected Cambiaso and G. B. Castello for the frescoes in San Matteo. He was greatly enraged, and in disgust gave up his profession, dividing his time between sailing and fencing for the next twenty years. What Pantaleo did with himself during this long interval is not clear, but the partnership only terminated with his death, when Lazzaro was ninety-three. After the loss of his chief assistant Lazzaro decided to retire, and for the remaining twelve years of his life only resorted to his palette as a source of recreation. Pantaleo left four sons, Marc' Antonio, Aurelio, Benedetto and Felice, all of them painters.

The chapel which follows (Sta. Bonaventura) contains a picture of the *Vision of Sta. Bonaventura*, by P. P. Raggi. The vault is filled with scenes from the life of the titular saint, by G. B. Carlone, whose works have done so much towards making this church the richest in Genoa. The picture of the saint raising a dead child to life is by Aurelio Lomi, and the other

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one on the side wall is attributed to Giambattista Vicino. The two small pictures above are among the few painted by Nicolò Carlone.

The next chapel is dedicated to St. John Baptist, and in it there are three works by Domenico Piola. The fresco in the vault, has little merit, and the altar picture of the *Preaching of the Baptist* does not rank among his best productions. The third picture represents *St. Thomas Aquinas before the Crucifix*. It was painted for the church of San Domenico, and brought here on its suppression. There is also a canvas by G. B. Carlone of *St. Bernardino of Siena raising a dead man*.

The fourth chapel is that of the "French Nation." The two large angels were carved by "Monsieur Onorato," a French sculptor whose surname is unknown, at least in the records of Genoa. The vault was painted by Domenico Piola, and is rather better than the last. The chief interest centres round the three pictures with scenes from the life of St. Louis, King of France. When first the chapel was decorated Giovanni Bernardo Carbone¹ (1614-1683), a pupil of G. A. de' Ferrari, was commissioned to paint a picture of St. Louis for the altar. The French authorities, considering the picture unworthy of their chapel, employed one of their own nation to paint another to take its place. But when the substitute arrived in Genoa it was found to be inferior to that by Carbone. This was also rejected, and a second French artist was set to work on the same subject. Whether his picture was better than that of his fellow countryman readers

¹ The reader is warned against confusing this Carbone with the many Carloni, and especially against the errors made in this respect by Munro's *Guide to Genoa*.

must decide for themselves ; it was considered to fall short of the picture originally executed by Carbone, and in the end the work of the Genoese artist was hung in the chief place, while the other two canvases were placed on the side walls of the chapel. They are still in their places for succeeding generations to criticise at their leisure.

Passing on to the fifth chapel, dedicated to San Pietro di Alcantara, there is a picture over the altar by G. B. Carlone of the titular saint contemplating the Cross. The vault has been redecorated in comparatively recent days by Giuseppe Galeotto with the *Vision of Sta. Teresa*. The pictures on the side walls are the *Vision of Sta. Giovanna* (school of Proccacini) and the *Virgin with SS. Ursula and Clemente*, by one of the Piola family. The most valuable work in the chapel is the small *Supper at Emmaus* (over the picture of Sta. Giovanna) by Bernardo Strozzi.

In the next chapel, that of the Annunciation, the picture over the altar is one of the best and most restrained works produced by Domenico Piola. The *Visit of Elisabeth*, and all the other works here, are by G. B. Carlone, and were done directly after his return from Venice.

The seventh chapel (St. Antonio of Padua) contains nothing of interest.

At the top of the aisle there is a large chapel with two altars and a few pictures. The dome is said to have been painted by G. B. Carlone, but the present work must be attributed to some modern restorer.¹ By T. Clerici, *S. Domenico Soriano* ; *SS. Michael, Raphael and Gabriel* ; and the *Communion of Sta. Teresa*.

¹ In support of this statement see C. da Prato, *La Chiesa della Natività del Guastato*, p. 129.

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The paintings in the choir by Giulio Benso are the *Wedding of Gioachim and Anna*,¹ with a good architectural setting, the *Presentation in the Temple*, and *Christ disputing with the Doctors*, the latter finished by G. B. Carlone. The crucifix is by "Monsieur la Croix," a Frenchman.

Crossing to the top of the left aisle the newly decorated chapel presents a bare and cold appearance after the wealth of colour in those already visited. It contains some interesting pictures, however, and notably that which brought Luciano Borzone to his death. It is the *Presepio* on the right hand wall, and while painting the upper portion of it Borzone fell from the scaffolding on to his head. It was finished by his sons Battista and Carlo. There are two pictures here by Bernardo Strozzi, *Joseph interpreting the dream of Pharaoh* and *St. Peter denying Christ*.

Coming down the aisle the next two chapels contain groups by Marigliano, an artist whose works are still gazed upon in reverent awe by the faithful in Genoa. The first of these represents *St. Pasquale kneeling before the Sacrament*, and the other is a theatrical representation of *St. Francis receiving the Stigmata*, complete with scenery and cunningly contrived lighting. Marigliano appealed to the people by giving them a form of art which could be appreciated at a glance. Other men had painted pictures, but pictures were only colour without form; other men had carved statues, but what were they, after all, save form without colour? Marigliano's work was different. Nothing was left to the imagination. If it were the Crucified, you might gaze in horror at the livid edges of those

¹ Unfortunately the greater part of this picture is hidden by the erection at the back of the high altar.

five terrible wounds, and follow the raised rivulets of clotting blood as they coursed each other down the sacred limbs; the look of agony on that Face was such as might move a less susceptible race than the Genoese. And were it our Lady of Griefs, you should see her as a sweet maid clad in her own robe of blue; but with what an air of resignation and sorrow! What crystal tears glistened on her cheeks! Was any sorrow like unto her sorrow?

Thus Antonio Maria Marigliano stands out as the most popular of Genoese artists. He was born at Sta. Margherita, near Rapallo in 1667,¹ of parents so poor that he was sent at a tender age to earn his own living as errand boy to a little known sculptor named Arata, nursing the secret hope that in leisure moments his master might teach him the rudiments of the art. Disappointed in his wishes the lad left his situation, and gained a meagre livelihood as servant to another sculptor, Pietro Andrea Torre, better artist and kinder master; and one who showed himself a willing friend. He remained with Torre for several years, and won recognition as a carver of wooden groups and figures of a similar character to those in the Annunziata. In Sta. Maria delle Vigne there are four of his statues, a *Crucifixion* with the *Virgin* and *St. John*, at the top of the left aisle, and lower down on the same side *St. Antonio of Padua*, which is dramatic in the extreme; a characteristic which brought endless commissions to the artist, and, doubtless, large sums to the altars and churches. It has been seen that Marigliano appealed almost wholly to the sentimental side without much of the artist in the background; and in viewing his

¹ This is the date given by D' Oria, *La Chiesa di San Matteo*. Ratti gives it as 1664.

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many works in Genoa, or the host of carved saints which he despatched to Spain and even to America for the delectation of the faithful of those countries, it would be wise, perhaps, to refrain from peeping into his workshop—lest we might see the craftsman busily sawing a stunted St. Francis through the middle, so that an inch or two might be added to his stature.¹ He died in 1741, receiving the Last Sacrament from the hands of a priest who inadvertently placed in his hands a badly carved crucifix. "Oh mio Salvatore," he exclaimed, starting up, "I have crucified Thee twice; once by my sins, and a second time with my chisels; but I never treated Thee so infamously as the scoundrel who made this in Thine image!"

The vault of the second chapel was painted by Giuseppe Galeotto.

The decorations of the chapel of St. Diego which follows were executed by Giacomo Antonio Ponsonelli, who, "in the complete absence of architects at the time, took up this branch of work." The frescoes are by Domenico Piola, and their feebleness betrays the fact that they were done in his old age. The picture over the altar, *St. Diego curing a blind man*, that on the side wall of *St. Diego preaching to a crowd*, and the third of *Philip II. being cured by touching his dead body*, are all by the above mentioned artist.

The whole of the fourth chapel was decorated by Domenico Piola, in a style little better than the last. It is dedicated to the Immaculate Conception. The picture (by Piola) is of the *Coronation of the Virgin*.

The same Piola painted the vault of the fifth chapel, and with more success than in the previous examples, the *Eternal with Angels* in the vault being a piece of

¹ Ratti, p. 171.

clear and brilliant execution. On the side wall, by G. B. Carlone, *St. Francesco Solano baptising Indians*. The picture on the opposite wall is by Clerici, representing the *Martyrdom of twenty-one Franciscan monks*.

In the sixth chapel is a picture by G. B. Paggi of the *Assumption of Sta. Chiara*, placed in a very dark corner where it is impossible to judge of it. On the opposite wall is one of the only two pictures in Genoa painted by Simone Barrabino.¹

The last chapel is dedicated to S. Clemente di Ancira, and in it there are three pictures by G. B. Carlone, which give gruesome details of his martyrdom. Over the altar he is stretched on the rack; on the right wall his tormentors are placing a red-hot helmet on his head; and on the other he is being branded in several places. There is a grim reality about them which could only be heightened by the branding irons being made just a little more convincingly red-hot. The two upper panels (*San Lorenzo* and *Santo Stefano*) are by Gregorio de' Ferrari.²

¹ He was the pupil of Bernardo Castello, and the best of his followers. He did not stay long in his native city, but, considering his merits not sufficiently appreciated, went to Milan. He was one of the many Genoese painters who worked with the sole object of making money; and not unfrequently he gave it up altogether and applied himself "with singular relish" to trade.

² There were four artists of the de' Ferrari family. Orazio was born at Voltri, and studied under Ansaldo, whose niece he married. One or two of the minor frescoes in San Siro are by him, and an oil painting, in the Palazzo Pallavicino, of *St. Paul*. He died with his wife and all his family in the plague of 1657.

Giovanni Andrea, the best of the de' Ferrari painters, and not to be confounded with Gregorio, was born about 1600 and died in 1669. He was the pupil of Bernardo Castello, but subsequently went to Bernardo Strozzi and under his guidance became one of the best of the Genoese colorists. In the Palazzo Pallavicino there is a *Virgin and Child* by him, and a very

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On the western wall there is a *Last Supper* by Proccacini. It is badly lit, and in places has been darkened by time. The composition and colour are good. The narrow panels beside it with *prophets* are by Gioacchino Assereto, and the two semi-circular pictures at the ends of the aisles are the work of Domenico Fiasella.

good *Joseph sold to the Ishmaelites*. In S. Stefano, *St. Germain casting out devils*; in St. Ambrogio, *St. Ambrose refusing Theodosius admittance to the Temple*. His best work is in the Oratory of San Tommaso, a large panel of *St. Thomas baptising the Magi*. The background is a magnificent basilica, and the finest piece of architectural perspective in Genoa.

Gregorio, who does not appear to have been any relation to the foregoing, was born at Porto Maurizio in 1644, and went to Genoa as a law student. Seeing Domenico Fiasella at his work he was struck with admiration, threw aside his books, and became Fiasella's pupil. Five years later he went to Parma, and carefully copied every portion of Correggio's dome, a study which seems to have had the effect of stamping out every spark of originality which his style might have possessed. He was never an exact draughtsman—few of the Genoese were, for that matter—though a good colorist and particularly successful with his flesh tints. He married Margherita, daughter of Domenico Piola and died in 1720. In the Palazzo Rosso there are two ceilings by him; in Sta. Maria delle Vigne *St. Michael driving out devils*; and in S. Stefano, the *Death of Sta. Scholastica*.

Lorenzo, the son of Gregorio and grandson of Piola, ought to have been a far greater painter than he was, if there is anything in the theory of heredity; but it is only necessary to study his frescoes in the four small domes of St. Ambrogio to realise how far he fell short of what he might have been.

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CHAPTER XI

THE CHURCH OF SAN MATTEO

TO all who visit the little church of San Matteo there must come a host of glorious memories.

The very walls themselves proclaim from half-obliterated letters the victorious records of the D' Orias who fought on the high seas through three hundred years; and before whom Pisa, Venice, Arragon, Constantinople and the fierce Dragut were forced to give way in turn; until the time came when Genoa, too, fell from her proud position, and became the shuttlecock of nations. San Matteo is the lasting monument of a seafaring family, from Oberto D' Oria, who took the harbour chain from Porto Pisano, down to Andrea and the ill fated Giannettino. "The name of D' Oria has always been fatal to the Venetians," says Amelot de la Houssaye¹, and Roncioni, the Pisan chronicler—though the words seem wrung from him—when speaking of "Roberto" (Oberto) D' Oria admits that he "seemed sent into the world for the sole purpose of bringing ruin upon the Pisans; for in nearly every battle he gained a decisive victory."²

It was to San Matteo that Oberto in 1266 brought the bell from Canea, and after the battle of Meloria the seal and great Standard of Pisa were placed within these walls. They have disappeared, but were to

¹ *Histoire du Gouvernement de Venise*, p. 374.

² *Delle Istorie Pisane*, p. 607.



PALACE OF ANDREA D'ORIA, PIAZZA SAN MATTEO

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be seen as late as 1634.¹ The sword given to Andrea by Paul III. is still in its place above the baldacchino : though during the disturbances of 1797 it was removed by D' Oria's descendants and only replaced in 1846. The links of Pisa's harbour chain which formerly hung as proud trophies on the façade were only handed back to Genoa's ancient rival on the Unification of Italy.

Grouped around the grass-grown Piazza di San Matteo stand the palaces of the D' Orias ; the palace presented to Lamba after the victory of Curzola ; the palace which Pagano bought with the gifts of the Senate after the rout of Venice at Sapienza ; and the palace voted by acclamation to old Andrea, " Father and Liberator of his Country." ²

It will be better to explore the neglected and dark interior before deciphering the inscriptions on the black and white marble front. The church was founded by Martino D' Oria in 1125 on a piece of land which had been called the " Campetto dei Fabbri," and was placed under the jurisdiction of the Abbey of S. Fruttuoso. The church built by Martino was only

¹ Federico Federici, *Lettera al Sig. Gasparo Scioppio*.

² " Trionfà, imperà, spande ri are,
Per Levante e Ponente in mille care,
Dri Lambe, dri Oberti
Dri Pieri, dri Paghen, de quelli Andrie
Per gloria così aerti,
Nasciù per terro dre Barbarie
In Patria spreccatoi dre Signorie
Poaeri dri Carloquinti"

(They have conquered and ruled, they spread out their wings to the East and to the West—Lamba and Oberto, Pietro and Pagano, and that Andrea who was marked out for glory ; born to be the terror of the pirate, the spurner of foreign masters from his native land, and to be the mainstay of Charles V.). *Cavalli*, in an ode written on the election of Gian Stefano D' Oria to the Dogate.

allowed to stand for a century and a half; then the D' Orias decided to enlarge the Piazza in front of it, and pulled down the old edifice, with the exception of the choir; which, because it contained an ancient mosaic, was removed bodily for a distance of twenty-five braccia, and built into the new work. This engineering feat is duly recorded by Jacopo de Varagine, Giustiniano and other writers; but the mosaic, still visible in 1535, has now disappeared. It was similar to the one over the western entrance. The façade was built in 1278.

Except for the steady increase in the number of inscriptions on the bands of white marble the church does not appear to have been altered until about 1534, when Andrea D'Oria employed Montorsoli, G. B. Castello and Cambiaso to beautify it. Giovanni Angelo Montorsoli, a Florentine sculptor and the best of Michelangelo's followers, had already been in Genoa on a previous occasion, sent thither from Rome by Cardinal Cybo, to finish the statue of Andrea which Baccio Bandinelli had begun. This is the statue which stood before the Palazzo Ducale, and whose shattered remains have found a resting-place in the cloisters of this church. During this visit Montorsoli also carved the statue of St. John Baptist in San Lorenzo.

On his second visit to Genoa he was employed by Andrea as architect as well as sculptor. He enlarged the choir of San Matteo, added the chapels and built the dome, designing and directing the whole of the decoration.

The two bays of the nave were painted by Luca Cambiaso and G. B. Castello, *il Bergamasco*, but it is impossible to distinguish between the work of these

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artists. The author of *La Chiesa di San Matteo*¹ inclines to the opinion that the work in the western bay of the nave and in the aisles is by Cambiaso, and that Castello did the other frescoes.

The inscription carved by Montorsoli on one of the pilasters in the church, "TOTIUS OPERIS HUIUS ARCHITECTUS ET STATUARIUS IO. ANG. S DE MÖTE URSULO FLOREN," is amply borne out; for over the arch of the apse he carved a *Resurrection*, which is flanked by the figures of *Moses* and *Noah*, by his nephews Angelo and Martino, who assisted him throughout the work. The statues of *Abraham*, *Isaac*, *Jacob* and *Joseph* between the sanctuary windows are also by them as well as the bassi-rilievi representing the *Eternal*, the *Creation of Adam*, the *Birth of Eve*, the *Fall of Adam*, and the *Expulsion from Eden*; while they seem also to have modelled the four *Doctors* in the spandrels of the dome and the *Sibyls* in the sides.

The rest of the sculptures are by Montorsoli; the *Pietà* (signed "IO. AG. FLOREN. OPUS") and *St. John Baptist*; *St. Andrew*, *David* and *Jeremiah* in the choir; the mezz-rilievi of the four evangelists, and two urns, in one of which lie the remains of S. Massimo and in the other those of S. Pelagio, relics stolen in the fifteenth century from the Venetians. *St. Joseph*, the *Annunciation*, the *Nativity*, the *Baptism of Christ*, the *Virgin of Loretto*, and others scattered in niches and upon altars bear witness to Montorsoli's diligence and ability. The tomb of Conte Filippo D' Oria—his deeds are among those recorded on the façade—standing in the right aisle is the work of the same sculptor, and the panels which he carved to serve as a chancel rail, but

¹ I. D' Oria, *La Chiesa di San Matteo*, p. 15. Much of the information contained in this chapter is derived from this book.

which proved too high for the purpose, have been transferred to the palace at Fassuolo.

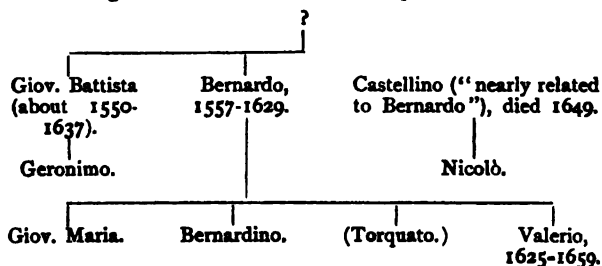
In each of the two eastern chapels there is a picture over the altar. That on the left representing the *Saviour with S.S. Mauro and Matteo* is totally hidden by a modern painting surrounded by glaring gilt rays, an act of vandalism only too frequently to be met with in Genoa. The older picture was presented by Nicolò D' Oria, Doge in 1579, and his wife Aurelia Grimaldi, both of whom are buried in the church, and who figure in the foreground of the painting. This picture, with four others on the adjacent walls, are attributed by some authorities to Andrea Semino and by others to the school of Cambiaso. That over the other altar is a *Holy Family*, by Bernardo Castello.¹

¹ The two Castelli who worked in San Matteo were not related. Giovanni Battista, *il Bergamasco*, was born at Bergamo, as his name implies, in 1500. He was a painter, sculptor and architect. In architecture he departed from the usual sober practice, and was, perhaps, the forerunner of a certain school of modern architects; for "to him alone was it permitted to turn everything topsy-turvy without in any way endangering the beauties of proportion." Like Lancelot,

" His honour rooted in dishonour stood,
And faith unfaithful kept him falsely true,"

so that, as Soprani tells us, "he was skilled in employing bases for capitals and capitals for bases, and that without prejudice to his art." He made more debts than pictures in Genoa, and fled to Spain in 1576 to escape his creditors. He died in 1579.

The following table will show the relationships of the other Castelli:—



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There is one of Marigliano's carved groups here, shut up in a chapel (which serves as a lumber-room as well) in the left aisle, of the *Burial of Christ*; and not far from it is the narrow door which gives access to the subterranean chapel of the Holy Cross, where Andrea and Giannettino lie at rest: Andrea in a sarcophagus carved by Montorsoli, and Giannettino

Giovanni Battista, the second of that name, became a miniaturist, after serving his apprenticeship to a goldsmith. His works were much in request among the Genoese nobles, and in 1606 he received the unique honour of being exempted from the vexatious laws by which painters in the city were governed. His son Geronimo was also a miniaturist.

Bernardo was the pupil of Andrea Semino, and his works were much praised in the verses of contemporary Genoese poets. His best picture is that representing the *Martyrdom of S. Pietro di Verona* in Sta. Maria di Castello. His three oil paintings in San Siro have been mentioned, and also that which he did for St. Peter's at Rome. The following are among his principal works: Sta. Maria delle Grazie, *frescoes* in the choir and chancel roof (much damaged, as the church was at one time used as a wood store); Sta. Maria del Carmine, *S. Francesco di Paolo*; Sta. Maria delle Vigne, *Stigmata*, and the *Thousand Martyrs*; and in Sta. Sabina, the *Stoning of St. Stephen*. His sons Giovanni Maria and Bernardino did nothing; but Valerio, though he was one of the most rapid of Genoese executants, "could not have fulfilled all his orders even if he had been blessed with more than one pair of hands." We are not told if he followed Cambiaso's example and used both hands. In Sta. Maria in Passione there are two *frescoes* from the *Life of our Lord* on the left wall of the choir; in the Palazzo Rosso, *Rape of the Sabines*; and in St. Ambrogio he painted a bay of the vaulting with the *Miracles of St. Francis Xavier*.

Castellino was "closely related" to Bernardo, but became the pupil of G. B. Paggi. Like Bernardo, he painted a picture for St. Peter's at Rome, but it was never given a place in the basilica. He was chiefly a portraitist, and among his sitters was Gabriele Chiabrera of Savona, who stands easily first among the few poets of the Genoese territories. In San Siro Castellino painted the *Marriage of S. Catherine of Siena*, and in Sta. Maria del Carmine the *Madonna and Sta. Teresa*. He was called to the Ducal court at Turin in 1647, and there died two years later, leaving a son Nicold, who seems only to have been a painter in a very humble way.

under the stone floor. The chapel derives its name from a piece of the True Cross which was given to Imperiale D' Oria by the Queen of Cyprus in 1472. and is now locked in a casket over the little altar of the chapel. The stuccoes here and on the stairs, which the damp has robbed of their gilding and of much of their beauty, were designed by Montorsoli, and carried out by his nephews.

Those who visit San Matteo should in no wise fail to walk round the quaint and silent cloisters which were built at the beginning of the fourteenth century.¹

¹ The reader is again warned against the inaccuracies of the *Guide to Genoa*, in which it is stated that Montorsoli built these cloisters. The author is apparently in ignorance of the tell-tale dates on the capitals. The first is inscribed :—

✠ Mo · GCCo · VIIIo · KL · APRILIS
 DONVS · ANDREAS · P · GOANO
 POR · (prior) HVIVS · ECCLE · FECIT
 FIERI · HOC · OPVS ·

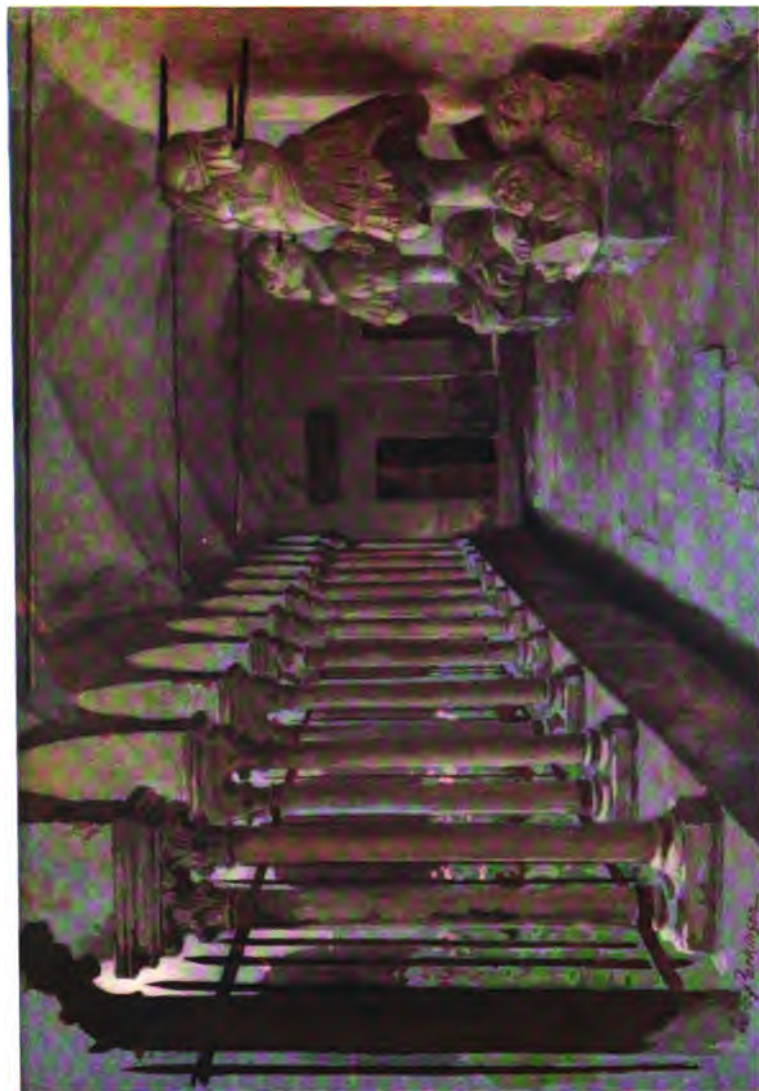
The second has on one side two figures, St. Matthew and a devotee, evidently Andrea di Goano. Behind the Evangelist is a lion holding the book in which St. Matthew is writing. In the book are the words :—

MAG	VS FE
MARC	CIT HOC
VS VENET	OPVS.

There are three figures on each of the other faces and round the abacus :—

✠ M.CCC.X · S · MATHS · DNVS · ANDRS · P · GOANO ✠
 PRIOR · S · AVGVRIVS · S · FRVCTVOSVS · S · EVLOGIVS · ✠
 ✠ · S · BERNARDVS · S · GEORGIVS · S · BENEDICTVS · ✠
 ✠ · S · NTC · S · IO · BAP · S · VENANTIVS ·

Each figure represents the saint whose name is carved above it. It is suggested that this Marco da Venezia was one of the prisoners brought home from Curzola, and that he stayed behind in Genoa after peace was made.



SAN MATTEO, THE CLOISTERS

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for in them seem to lurk the ghosts of all the D' Orias. The walls are inset with the sepulchral slabs to members of the family which were removed from San Domenico, and against the western wall stand the broken remnants of the two statues which were erected outside the Palazzo Ducale "to the Father and Liberator of his Country in MDXXVIII., and to the Preserver of its Liberty in MDCL. The grateful Republic decreed that two statues should be erected before the Palazzo, and that these eternal words should bear witness of their merits in the time to come: To Andrea D' Oria; who, because he gave back to his country its liberty after long oppression, was called Father of his Country, the Genoese Senate have placed this (statue) while he was still alive, in undying memory of his benefits." So also: "To Gianandrea D' Oria, Preserver of his Country's Liberty, S(enatus) G(enuensis) P(osuit)."

"The vandalism to which nothing is sacred caused these two statues to be thrown down in 1797, and with them perished the Liberty of the State. The ancient family of the D' Orias, collecting the shattered fragments of these beloved forms, in 1846 placed them as honoured monuments of art and patriotism under the shadow of the ancestral church which was founded by Martino D' Oria in 1125, and where the mortal remains of these great men lie in peace."

Truly it would be hard to find another church whose every stone is pregnant with the story of a great family:—

"We never tread upon them, but we set
Our foot upon some rev'rend history;
And questionless, here in this open court,
Which now lies naked to the injuries
Of stormy weather, some lie interr'd,
Loved the church so well, and gave so largely to 't!" . . .

We may read the "rev'rend history" ourselves, as it is graven upon the façade.

The first of the inscriptions, in point of date, is the last but one from the bottom. It runs:—

IN · NOIĒ · INDIVIDVE · TRINITAT · AÑO · DOMINI ·
M.CC.LXXX.III · DIE · VI · AVGV · EGREGIVS · ET · POTĒS
· DÑS · QST · ρ · AVIA · TVC · CAPITANEVS · ET · AR·
MIRAT · COIS · ET · POLI · IAN · I · POTU · PISANO ·
TVMFAVIT · ρ · PISANIS · CAPIENDO · EX · EIS ·
GALEAS · XXX.III · ET · VII · SVBM^SIS · ET · CETERIS
· FVGATIS · MVLTI^SQ · IPOR^Q · MORTVIS · IAN^NM ·
REVSVS · FVIT · CV · MAXIMA · MVL^TITVDINE · CACER·
ATOR^Q · ITA · Q · TVNC · VII.CCLXXII · CACERIB · IAN
· FVER · IVETI · I · QB · FVIT · CAPT · ALST · MOLEXIN
· ρ · VENECIIS · TVC · POTESTAS · ET · DÑS · GENERAL
· GVERE · COIS · PISAR^Q · CV · STATARIO · DITI ·
COMVIS · CAPTO · ρ · GALEA · ILORVM · ρ · AVIA · ET
· I · HAC · ECCLEXIA · APORTATO · Q · SIGILO · DITI ·
COIS · ET · LOTO · Q · COMITIS · VGOLINI · ET · MAG ·
· PARS · NOBILITATIS · PISARV · ¹

This was the famous Battle of Meloria. Genoa's fleet appears to have consisted of eighty-eight galleys

¹ "In the name of the undivided Trinity. In the year of our Lord 1284, and on the sixth day of August, the mighty and valiant Lord Oberto D' Oria, at that time Captain and Admiral of the Commune and People of Genoa, triumphed over the Pisans at Porto Pisano, capturing thirty-three of their galleys and sinking seven, the rest being put to flight; and very many Pisans were killed. He returned to Genoa with a great many prisoners, so that in those days 9272 were to be found in the Genoese prisons, amongst whom was Alberto Morosini the Venetian, then Podestà and Commander-in-chief of the Commune of Pisa, with the great standard of the said Commune captured by the galley of the D' Orias, which was brought to the church, with the seal of the aforesaid Commune and Count Lotto Ugolini, and a great number of the Pisan nobility."



THE CHURCH OF SAN MATTEO



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and eight *panfili*,¹ while Pisa had seventy-two galleys under Morosini, and a number of smaller vessels which made a total of 103 sail. This fleet, it will be remembered, had sailed into the unprotected harbour of Genoa, and shot silver arrows and balls wrapped in scarlet into the city, while a derisive shout from twenty-five thousand throats rent the air. The silent city made no reply, but sent out a richly clad herald to parley with Morosini. Morosini was well aware that thirty galleys under Benedetto Zaccaria were somewhere on the high seas, and he did not wish to be caught by the returning fleet. He contented himself, therefore, with an arrogant message to the Senate, taunting them that like a flock of timid sheep they lay locked in their sheepcotes (*veluti timidæ pecudes, claustris inclusi hostem ostium portus insidentem*. Foglietta, *Historiæ*), and challenged them to battle. To this the Senate replied that Pisa did well to boast of having blockaded an empty harbour, and added that if they were worthy of the name of men (*si viri fortes essent*) they would wait until Zaccaria returned. Morosini then sailed away while Genoa prepared for battle. The absent fleet was recalled with all speed, and passing the Venetians at Varazzo reached port in safety. In one day "between the hours of tierce and vespers," an additional fleet of fifty-eight galleys and eight *panfili* was manned and equipped, and the whole flotilla, under the command of Oberto D' Oria, one of the Captains of Genoese Liberty, set out in search of the enemy. The Pisan admiral, little dreaming that Genoa could prepare a fleet in such a short space of time, returned to the

¹ Ships of from 150-160 oars upwards. The armaments of the two Republics as given by different authors will be found in Appendix II.

Arno, and allowed his crews to disembark ; but the men had scarcely dispersed when a messenger arrived with the intelligence that the enemy were approaching in order of battle, and with a fleet said to number 144 vessels.¹ In a moment all Porto Pisano was bustle and confusion ; the sailors were hastily recalled, and the pride of Pisa's manhood sailed out in happy ignorance of the catastrophe which was to follow. According to the Pisan chroniclers, the fleet consisted of seventy-five galleys, and on account of the reported great superiority of the Genoese in ships, Morosini judged it unwise to stray far from port. On August 6th, the opposing fleets met near the Island of Meloria, where in 1241 Genoa had suffered defeat at the hands of Pisa. D'Oria had taken the precaution to send Zaccaria into hiding with his thirty ships, so that at the commencement Genoa came into action with only sixty-six vessels. In a few moments the two flagships were engaged in a deadly duel, while the air was filled with a tempest of stones, arrows and spears, as ship after ship drew within striking distance. The Pisans rapidly gained the upper hand, and in the first flush of victory behaved with a wanton cruelty which goaded the Genoese to fury, and to such deeds of mad bravery that the tide of fortune bade fair to change in their favour. On both sides drowning men were haled on board, and chained in the last stage of exhaustion to the rowing benches. Whenever they ceased to row they were beaten with many stripes, while those who were too weak or refused to struggle at the oars were ruthlessly cast back into the sea. Shrieks and groans, mingling with the clamour of challenges, threats and commands, the crash of steel

¹ Roncioni, *delle Istorie Pisane*.

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on steel, and the sound of splintering woodwork, produced an uproar of the wildest description. The vessels stood so thick on the fast reddening sea, that the combatants seemed to be fighting on one continuous heaving platform. Then, while the issue still hung in the balance, Zaccaria and his thirty galleys bore down on the wind to swell the Genoese ranks. In a few moments the leader himself drew up on the other side of Morosini's flagship, forcing him to surrender ; and almost at the same time the vessel which bore the great Standard of Pisa struck to the *San Matteo*, entirely manned by members of the D' Oria family.¹

The tide of battle had turned ; and as night fell such of the battered galleys as were able crept away in the dusk to carry the news of the defeat back to Pisa. The Pisan losses are told in the inscription ; and Tronci¹ has described the reception of the news in the dismayed city. Pisa had lost nearly the whole of her nobility and her bravest soldiers ; "the tears and lamentations which were made in Pisa no pen can describe. The women hurried out of their houses in the wildest disorder, sobbing greatly, and tearing their hair as they ran along beside the Arno to meet the few who had made good their escape after the battle, and to seek confirmation of the terrible news : and there were some who had cause to weep for a brother and some for a son, others for a father and others for a beloved husband, either dead or taken prisoner : nor was there any house left in the city that had not occasion for grief."

¹ In the archives of the family there is a document which gives the names of 250 D' Orias who were on board the *San Matteo*. It is quoted *in extenso* in *La Chiesa di San Matteo*, p. 250.

² *Annali Pisani*.

"And opening from the deep sea wond'ring eyes
Great Neptune started as in wild surprise :
While Arno's flood stood still ; and one sad moan
Went up from mothers mourning for their own."¹

Morosini was released at the instance of Venice, and without a ransom.

M.CC.LXXXX · DIE · X · SEPTEMB · CONRADVS · AVRIA
· CAPIT · ET · ADMIR · REIP · IANVEN · DESTRUX ·
PORTVM · PISANVM · ²

This inscription, which replaces an older one, is carved on the right hand side of the façade at the bottom left hand corner of the window. It was on this occasion that the chain, of which a portion hangs in the Palazzo Bianco, was obtained. It was cut up, and the pieces hung on the front of this church, on the façade of the Palazzo di San Giorgio, the Porta di Sant' Andrea, Porta Nuova (Porta de' Vaccà), Sta. Maria di Castello, S. Torpete, S. Salvatore, S. Donato, S. Ambrogio, Sta. Maria delle Vigne, Sta. Maria Maddalena, S. Giovanni di Prè, and on two houses, one in the Vico Dritto, and the other near the Piazza di Ponticello. In 1860, when Italy became one nation, Genoa resolved to restore the chain to Pisa, and accordingly a deputation headed by the mayor solemnly handed the relics over to the Gonfaloniere,

¹ "Che apri dal mar profondo i lenti e gravi
Occhi Nettuno e di timor si scosse,
E in foce d' Arno se ristette l' onda
E impallidir le madri in sulla sponda."

—*La Battaglia di Meloria*. In "Poemetti Italiani," vol. ix. (Turin, Morano, 1797).

² "In the year 1290, and on the tenth day of September, Corrado D' Oria, Captain and Admiral of the Republic of Genoa, took and destroyed Porto Pisano."

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and with much ceremony they were hung up in the celebrated Campo Santo with a magniloquent inscription concluding with the words: "La Generosa Genova, in the year 1860, first year of Italian Independence, of her own free will gave back these chains to Pisa as a perpetual sign of fraternal affection, of concord, and of indissoluble union."¹

AD · HONOREM · DEI · ET · BEATE · VIRGINIS ·
MARIE · ANNO · M.CC.XCVIII · DIE · DOMENICO · VII ·
SEPTEMBRIS · ISTE · ANGELVS · CAPTVS · FVIT · IN ·
GVLFO · VENETIARVM · IN · CIVITATE · SCVRZOLE ·
ET · IBIDEM · FVIT · PRELIVM · GALEARVM · LXXVI ·
IANVENSIVM · CVM · GALEIS · LXXXXVI · VENECIARVM
· CAPTE · FVERVNT · LXXXIII · PER · NOBILEM ·
VIRVM · DOMINVM · LAMBAM · AVRIE · CAPITANEVM
· ET · ARMIRATVM · TVNC · COMVNIS · ET · POPVLI ·
IANVE · CVM · OMNIBVS · EXISTENTIBVS · IN · EISDEM
· DE · QVIBVS · CONDVXIT · IANVE · HOMINES · VIVOS
· CARCERATOS · VII,CCCC · ET · GALEAS · XVIII · RE-
LIQVAS · LXVI · FECIT · CVMBVRI · IN · DICTO · GVLFO
· VENECIARVM · Q · OBIT · SAGONE · I · M.CCC.XXIII · *

¹ Bearing this in mind the writer one day sounded a prominent Genoese as to whether he and his fellow citizens had really ceased to feel elated at the thought of Meloria, and did not regret that the chain no longer hung on the buildings for men to see. At first he indulged in platitudes concerning "Italia" and "Unione." Later on he admitted that the lost chain robbed the city of its chiefest glory; and finally he said—but it is impossible to reproduce the relish with which he said it—"Ah, but you know *we kept back a little piece*: you have seen it, is it not so?" The old rivalry is not yet dead.

² "To the glory of God and of the blessed Virgin Mary. In the year 1298, and on Sunday the seventh of September, this angel was taken from the city of Curzola in the Gulf of Venice: and in the same place there was a battle between seventy-six Genoese galleys and ninety-six of Venice. Eighty-four were captured by the noble Lord Lamba D' Oria,

This inscription is carved below that last mentioned. The "Angel" refers to the stone sarcophagus under the window, in which the bones of Lamba were laid, with an inscription recording his exploits.¹ A bust of the admiral, which was originally placed above it, was destroyed in 1797.

The events leading up to the Battle of Curzola have already been mentioned, so that it only remains to speak of Lamba himself, and to gather such scant details of the engagement as have been preserved by old chroniclers. Lamba D' Oria was the brother of Oberto, of Meloria fame, and had fought on the San Matteo in that battle. In 1298 he was elected *Capitano del Comune e Popolo di Genova*, together with Corrado Spinola, and in virtue of his office took command of the fleet of seventy-six galleys. In August he arrived in the Adriatic, waiting for the Venetians to fulfil their threat of treating Genoa as the Genoese had but recently treated Pisa, occupying his time in raiding and sacking the Venetian territories in Dalmatia. Lamba had just plundered the city

then Captain and Admiral of the Commune and People of Genoa, with all who were on board: of the living he led back 7400 prisoners, together with eighteen galleys. The remaining sixty-six galleys he caused to be burnt in the aforesaid Gulf of Venice. He died at Savona in 1323."

¹ The inscription is in small characters partly above and partly beside the slab. It reads:—

"✠ HIC · IACET · MAGNIFICVS · DNS · DNS · LAMBA
· DE · AVR · DIGNIS · MEÏTIS (meritis) · CAPIT · ET · AD-
MIRATVS · CÔIS · ET · PPLI · IAN · QVI · ANNO · DNI ·
M.CC.XCVIII · DIE · VII · SEPTIS · DIVINA · FAVENTE ·
GRÂ · VENETOS · SUPAVIT · ET · OBIT · M.CCC.XXIII ·
DIE · XVII · OCTVBER · "

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of Curzola, and his ships lay between the islands of Lagosta, Mèleda and Curzola, when the hostile fleet, numbering ninety-six galleys under the command of Andrea Dandolo, was reported to be approaching. The admiral immediately drew up a plan of action, and, reminding his men of what they had done at Meloria, ordered them to prepare for battle. Adopting the tactics of his brother, Lamba despatched fifteen galleys to hide in the narrow strait of Marzarè, and placed his remaining ships in a triangle with his own vessel at the apex.

As the Venetian galleys, propelled by both wind and oars, bore down upon the vastly inferior Genoese squadron they were received with a flight of arrows ; and as each ship drew in a shower of stones rained upon her deck, varied at intervals by the boiling dregs from oil casks. In spite of the quick lime and sand which was cast without intermission into the eyes of the Venetians, Lamba and his devoted followers were hard pressed : his own son fell transfixed at the first onslaught, and died before his father's eyes. There was no time for grief, however : "Companions in arms," cried Lamba in a hoarse voice, "cast my boy into the deep sea ! What better resting-place can we give him than this spot where, fighting gallantly for his country, his death shall be atoned for by the victory which will shortly be ours. Away with you ; see that each one of you does his duty ; and with deeds rather than lamentations avenge his untimely death." With these words he forced his own ship forward, and furiously attacked Dandolo in the flagship. When the battle was at its height the reserve squadron broke from cover, and dashed down in support of the Genoese. Seized with panic, and believing that a far

more numerous reinforcement had arrived than was actually the case, the Venetian line wavered and broke: Dandolo alone stood firm, till battered and disabled with the attack of three galleys, his ship was boarded and captured, while the admiral himself was taken and put in chains. Genoa had won against heavy odds; and Lamba, intent on crushing the enemy, gave orders that the rapidly dispersing fleet should be harassed in its flight. For several hours more the battle raged in the narrow channels that intersect the islands of the Adriatic; wild dashes through perilous passages for a chance of escape, stern chases out to sea, and still sterner deeds of desperate and determined men. Of the total fleet eighty-four were captured, but most of them had fought to an end, and were little better than shattered hulks. Sixty-six which were unseaworthy had to be burnt, and Lamba sailed back to Genoa with his battle-worn fleet, eighteen Venetian galleys, 7400 prisoners, and the body of Andrea Dandolo. Beaten, but not cowed by his misfortune, Dandolo, rather than form a part of Lamba's triumph, had dashed his own brains out against a mast.

The next inscription reads :—

OPVS · DE · DOMO · DESTRVCTVM · ꝑ · LAMBINV · HIC
· EST · REDVCTVM ·

It is carved on the pilaster at the extreme right of the façade, and forms, as it were, the continuation of the "Iste Angelus" inscription. It is not quite clear to what this refers. Lambino D' Oria was the son of Lamba, and brother of Ottavio, who was killed at Curzola. As the inscription is close to the urn it is suggested that it refers to the removal of the sarco-

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phagus from the palace given to Lamba in recognition of his services. At the same time there is no proof that the sarcophagus was ever in any other position than the one it now occupies.

AD · HONOREM · DEI · ET · BEATE · MARIE · M.CCC.LII
· DIE · VIII · MARCII · NOBILIS · VIR · DOMINVS ·
PAGANVS · DE · AVRIA · ARMIRATVS · COMVNIS · ET ·
POPVLI · IANVE · Q · GALLEIS · LX · IANVENSIVM ·
PROPE · COMSTANTINOPOLIM · STRENVE · PRELIANDO
· Q · GALEIS · LXXXX · CATALANOR_x · GRECOR_x · ET ·
VENETOR_x · DE · OMNIBVS · CAMPVM · ET · VICTORIAM
· OTINVIT · IDEM · ECIAM · DOMINVS · PAGANVS ·
M.CCC.LIIII · DIE · IIII · NOVENBRIS · Q · GALLEIS ·
XXXV · IANVENSIVM · IN · INSVLA · SAPIENCIE · IN ·
PORTV · LONGO · DEBELAVIT · ET · CEPIT · GALEAS
· XXXVI · Q · NAVIB · IIII · VENETOR_x · ET · QDV₃SIT ·
IANVAM · HOMINES · VIVOS · CARCERATOS · V̄.CCCC ·
Q · EOR_x · CAPITANEO · ¹

This inscription, the fourth from the bottom, bears record of the two battles in which Pagano D' Oria commanded the Genoese fleet. The first was the result of an attack made upon Pera by the combined fleets of Venice, Arragon, and Giovanni Cantacuzeno. Nicolò Pisano was in command of the allies, and hear-

¹ "To the glory of God, and of the blessed Mary. In the year 1352, and on the ninth day of March, the noble Lord Pagano D' Oria, Admiral of the Commune and People of Genoa, strenuously fighting near Constantinople with sixty Genoese galleys against ninety ships of Arragon, Venice, and the Greek Empire, obtained a great victory over the combined fleet. And the same Lord Pagano, in the year 1354, on the fourth of November, near the Island of Sapienza in Porto Longo, with thirty-five Genoese galleys, fought and captured thirty-six galleys, and four great ships of Venice; and brought back to Genoa 5400 living men as prisoners together with their captain."

ing of the approach of D' Oria, raised the siege of Pera, and sailed away to effect a junction with reinforcements from Venice. Pagano failed to prevent the meeting of the two squadrons, but captured a ship from whose captain he learnt that Pisano intended to attack Pera in force. Aware of the superior strength of the allies, but determined to block their way, the Genoese admiral realised that his only way to avoid having his flanks enveloped by the enemy was to give battle in the narrow waters of the Bosphorus. He accordingly waited off the coast of Chalcedon till the allies hove in sight, shaping a course for Constantinople. The wind was rising, and every moment the sea grew more boisterous, so that several ships belonging to the enemy ran on to the rocks under the walls of the city. Pagano, perfectly at home in the shoals and broken water round Pera, drew back and anchored his ships near the Castello di Galata. The Venetians knew the navigable channels equally well, and dashed in after them, attacking and repelling attacks with the utmost fury, while the din of fighting was drowned in the roar of the tempest. All the Greek galleys, with the exception of two, fled in terror ;¹ but the Arragonese, with more courage than skill, endeavoured to follow the Venetians, with the

¹ It may be questioned whether the Greeks, had they stopped to fight, would have been of much assistance to their allies. Sauli (*La Colonia di Galata*, vol. i. p. 310) says, in speaking of their condition a few years previously : "They had no ballast whatever in their holds, and accordingly lurched from side to side ; while on deck they carried two wooden towers, which, caught by the wind, drove the vessels in various directions, according to the fancy of the breezes. The rolling and tossing so troubled the pilots and crews, most of whom were afloat for the first time in their lives, that keeping their feet with the utmost difficulty and falling over one another in the greatest confusion, they not unfrequently slipped off the ship altogether and into the sea."

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result that several were stranded on the rocks. The battle raged with equal fortune to either side ; but as night came on the Venetians and Greeks withdrew to Constantinople. The Arragonese would have done the same, but they had lost their bearings, and, confused by the darkness, drifted about in hopeless indecision.

Seeing their condition the Genoese in Galata manned a number of light galleys, and going out in the guise of friends offered to guide them into port. The ruse was completely successful, and the galleys of Arragon, led once more among the rocks and shoals, were easily captured. The Genoese, however, were thoroughly demoralised, and most of the ships appear to have been deserted during the night. Had Pisano renewed the attack he would probably have taken the whole fleet and Galata as well. But the Venetians showed no anxiety to continue the battle, and after a few days the relics of the allied fleet sailed away. Pagano had good reason to be satisfied with the result obtained, for as Marino Sanuto says, "the Genoese fought against the sun, against the wind, against the sea, and against three fleets."¹

The hoped-for end had been achieved ; Constantinople was compelled to stifle her enmity towards the growing colony of Pera, and was forced even to grant an extension of territory.

When Pagano reached Genoa at the end of April 1353, the Guelfs who were in power denied him the honours due to a victorious admiral, urging as an excuse that he had lost too many men in the battle.

¹ *Vite de' Duchi di Venesia*, in Muratori, *Rer. It. Script.*, vol. xxii. col. 624

He therefore resigned, and was succeeded by Antonio Grimaldi as Commander-in-chief. Venice had not given up all hope of crushing Genoa, and in conjunction with the Arragonese, sent out a fleet of eighty galleys to harass the Black Sea colonies and Alghero in Sardinia, which recognised Genoese rule. Grimaldi was sent out with sixty galleys to cope with them, but a storm near Porto Venere reduced his fleet to fifty-one ships. Nothing daunted, the Admiral, continuing on his course, came up with the allies at Porto Conte, and suffered a terrible defeat in which he lost forty-one of his galleys.¹

Even the Guelfs were furious at this, and putting aside their differences, both factions combined for the purpose of redressing the loss. Pagano D' Oria was again made Admiral, and given the command of thirty-five ships. Venice armed thirty-six galleys, five large ships, and a flotilla of smaller vessels, appointing Nicolò Pisano as Admiral for the third time.

Lesina and Curzola had already been burnt by a Genoese fleet, and when Pagano took and sacked Parenzo in Istria the Venetians trembled for the safety of their own city. Pisano, meanwhile, had set out for Sardinia, but being hastily recalled by the peril of Venice, returned to the Adriatic, and took up a position at Porto Longo in the Island of Sapienza, to await the onslaught of the enemy. Twenty of his galleys were chained together at the mouth of the harbour, and the other sixteen with the smaller vessels were to cruise about in the harbour itself, so that if Pagano should force his way past the

¹ Accounts vary as to the number; that given here is taken from Foglietta, *Historia*.

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first line he would be taken between the two fires.

There are considerable discrepancies between the different accounts of the battle. Biondo¹ says that the Venetians used gunpowder for the first time in the engagement, and that the Genoese were completely surprised by "this extraordinary invention"; while on the other hand Sanuto seems to imply that the Venetian crews were all caught sleeping, and made no stand whatever. He says the Genoese over-ran the vessels, hacking and hewing the enemy to pieces with cries of "Death to this pigs' litter!" (*Morte alla porcaglia!*), and that "never before was there such a rout." But it seems more probable that Pisano was keeping a good look out, and that when Giovanni D' Oria with several galleys dashed into the harbour between the end of his line and the shore, he did not interfere, simply because his ships were fastened together and totally unable to manœuvre. To overpower the Venetian squadron in the bay was the work of a few moments; and when Giovanni, preceded by fire ships, attacked Pisano's own command from the rear, while Pagano battered them in front, there was nothing left for the captive vessels to do but surrender.

Genoa's losses were of the most trifling nature, and the victorious leader returned home in triumph, taking with him the whole Venetian fleet with Nicolò Pisano, its commander, the proud standard of St Mark, and more than five thousand prisoners.

¹ *Blendi Flavii Forliviensis Historiarum*, etc.

AD · HONOREM · DEI · ET · BEATE · MARIE ·
 MCCC.LXXVIII · DIE · V · MADII · IN · GVLFO ·
 VENECIAR_x · ꝑ · PE · POLAM · FVIT · PRELIVM · GALEAR_x ·
 · IANVENSIVM · XXII · CVM · GALEIS · XXII · VENECIAR_x ·
 · IN · QVIB · ERANT · HOMINES · ARMOR_x · CCCC.LXXV ·
 · ET · QVAM · PLVRES · ALII · ꝑ · POLA · VLTRA ·
 IHVSMAM · DITAR_x · GALEAR_x · ꝑ · QVIB · GALEIS ·
 CAPTE · FVERVNT · XVI · Q · HONIBVS · EXISTENTIB ·
 IN · EISDEM · ꝑ · NOBILEM · DOMINVM · LVCIANVM ·
 ꝑ · AVRIA · CAPITANEVM · GENERALEM · COMVNIS ·
 IANVE · QVI · IN · EODEM · PRELIO · MORTEM ·
 STRENVE · BELANDO · SVSTINVIT · QVE · GALEE · XVI ·
 · VENETOR_x · QDVCTE · FVERVNT · IN · CIVITATEM ·
 IADRE · Q · HOMINIB · CARCERATIS · MCCCXCVII · ¹

This inscription, the third from the bottom, refers to the Battle of Pola in which Luciano D' Oria commanded the Genoese fleet. War had broken out in 1378, and D' Oria with eighteen galleys entered the Adriatic to attack Zara. A numerically superior force under Vettore Pisano barred the way, and Luciano took temporary refuge in Tràu, successfully resisting the assaults of the Venetians. Pisano drew off, and D' Oria, using Zara as a base, raided the surrounding country. His fleet had been reinforced, and now numbered twenty-two vessels. Pisano, who had been cruising about during the whole of the previous winter,

¹ "To the glory of God, and of the blessed Mary. In the year 1379, on the fifth day of May, near Pola in the Gulf of Venice, there took place a battle between twenty-two galleys of Genoa and twenty-two of Venice, in which there were 475 men at arms and very many others from Pola, of which galleys sixteen were taken with all on board by the noble Lord Luciano D' Oria, Captain-General of the Commune of Genoa, who died while gallantly fighting in this battle. The said sixteen Venetian galleys were conveyed to the town of Jadera with 2407 prisoners."

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had retired to Pola to refit, and there on May 5th the Genoese caught him unprepared. Luciano had no intention, however, of allowing the crews to escape to shore, and accordingly resorted to stratagem in order to lead the enemy from their base.

"We decided not to attack them there, because they were so near the land that the crews could have escaped by swimming ashore; so we pretended to avoid the battle, and put out to sea. The enemy gave chase, and when we had led them about three miles from port, and it was difficult for them to get away from us, we turned towards them, and attacked so hotly that in less than an hour and a half we had gained a complete victory."¹

Once more a D' Oria had triumphed, but the victory cost him his life; for while raising his visor for a moment to watch the progress of the fight he received a lance thrust in the face and died almost immediately, though not before he had commanded another to don his armour so as to conceal the fact of his death. In justice to Pisano it should be added that from the outset he had been averse to fighting, as his crews were reduced in numbers and his ships refitting. His officers upbraided him as a coward; and stung to the quick he ordered his captains to follow up the simulated flight of the Genoese.²

¹ Letter from the Senate to Francesco da Carrara, Lord of Padua and ally of Genoa. It is dated May 9th, 1379; and is quoted in Gataro, *Istoria Padovana* (Rer. It. Script. vol. xvii.); D' Oria, *La Chiesa di San Matteo*, p. 299-300; Serra, *Storia dell' Antica Liguria e di Genova*, vol. ii. p. 427; Fanucci, *Storia dei Tre celebri popoli*, Lib. iv. 83, etc.

² Muratori, *Annales*, vol. xii. p. 619 adds that many of the Venetian prisoners were decapitated in revenge for the death of Luciano.

DEO

OPTIMO

MAXIMO

PHILIPPVVS D'ORIA COMES: VESTIGIA MAIORVM SEQVENS:
SVB VEXILLO FRANCISCI PRIMI FRANCORVM REGIS
CHRISTIANISSIMI: PRO PRAEFECTO: TRIREMES AN-
DREAE AVVUNCULI¹ IN REGNO SICILIAE CITRA DVXIT,
IN SINV SALERNITAN: CVM HOSTIVM TRIREMIBVS
LEGITIME FOELICISSIMEQ: VARIO MARTE CONFLIXIT,
GLORIOSAM TANDEM MIRABILEMQ: VICTORIAM DEO
AVSPICE ADEPTVS EST, M. D. XXVIIJ, XXVIIJ APRILIS,
MAXIME VIR TVTIS MONVMENTVM.

The inscription carved on the lowest band of white marble is the next in point of date; but while it concerns the naval exploits of one of the D' Orias, Conte Filippo, his victory was not won in the cause of Genoa. In the war which broke out between Francis I. and Charles V. in 1526 Andrea D' Oria was Admiral of the French fleet, with his cousin Filippo as his lieutenant. The inscription refers to the victory gained by the latter with eight galleys over the Spanish arms in the Gulf of Salerno in 1528, by which France became for a time mistress of the seas.

Andrea, too, is commemorated upon the church he did so much to make beautiful. The inscription runs:—

MAIORVM · NOSTRVM · MEMORIA · ANDREAS · D' ORIA
· AFFLICTAM · PATRIAM · NON · DESERVIT ·

But the life of Andrea D' Oria is interwoven with the vicissitudes through which the long low *Palazzo a Fassuolo* has passed, and demands a chapter to itself.

The wording of this inscription is incorrect; Andrea was not the uncle, but the cousin of Filippo.

CHAPTER XII

THE PALAZZO D' ORIA PANFILI

THERE is so much confusion with regard to the palace of Andrea D' Oria in modern guide books that it will be better to preface an account of this building with a few words to show what the Palazzo D' Oria a Fassuolo, or the Palazzo D' Oria Panfili, is *not* before attempting to describe what it *is*.

The palace is *not* "the Palazzo Fregoso": it was *not* "given to the great Andrea D' Oria"; and it was *not* "rebuilt and improved to its present state" by him.¹

The palace which was presented to the admiral in recognition of his services is the building in the Piazza San Matteo over whose graceful *portone* is the inscription decreed by the Senate. "While the Palazzo de' Campofregoso stood in the suburb of San Tommaso, the Palazzo D' Oria was in that of Fassuolo."² Part of the site was obtained by purchase from members of the Lomellini family in 1521, and the remainder was acquired in the same manner from the Giustiniani-Furneto a few years later. Finally, the palace was completed by Andrea's successor,

¹ *Guide to Genoa*, already cited, p. 77.

² A. Merli and L. T. Belgrano, *Il Palazzo del Principe D' Oria a Fassuolo*.

Gianandrea, nearly thirty years after the death of the admiral.

The position selected is one which would naturally recommend itself to a man whose chief interest centred in the coming and going of ships. It lay outside the city walls, but was separated from them by less than a stone's throw, in a situation so pleasant that it had been called the "Paradiso." It commanded the harbour, and Andrea might embark on his galleys direct from his own garden. Doubtless he had many times glanced at the spot in admiration as he sailed into the port; and it was when he had entered his fifty-sixth year, with a career of battle and court intrigue behind him, that the work was actually commenced. He set about it in the resolute manner which marked all his undertakings, pulling down such portions of the older buildings as were unsuited to his purpose, and rebuilding on an extended scale. Before long he had gathered some of the best artists of the day to assist him; and in 1528 Pierino Bonacorsi, better known as Pierino del Vaga, who had lost all employment after the sack of Rome in the previous year, was welcomed in Genoa by Andrea, and became the director of the works. How much had been done before his arrival we do not know, but the structure must have been well forward as Geronimo da Treviglio was already at work on the now vanished frescoes of the sea front.

It is believed that the palace as originally erected by Andrea consisted only of the portion on which the long inscription is carved, and that the wings were added at a later date; while the colonnade in the cortile (whose extent coincides with the length of the inscription) is all that was left standing of the original



THE "GALLERIA DEGLI EROI"

THE PALAZZO D' ORIA PANFILI 247

Giustiniani-Furneto residence. Thus, though the cortile was allowed to stand, Andrea pulled down the whole house, and only preserved the foundations.

Hampered by the position of the older walls, the architect had but little opportunity for showing his abilities ; and the palace lacks grandeur when compared with the other buildings of Genoa. We miss the stately colonnaded entrance, finding instead a plain cellar-like hall ; and the staircase—usually so elaborate a feature—is stowed away in a corner, and leads through semi-darkness to the gallery above. The northern front was plain indeed ; for the great doorway which forms the state entrance, the work of Silvio Cosini and Giovanni da Fiesole, was placed here at a later date ; removed, it is supposed, from the lower garden where it graced the portal leading to the harbour. That it was not intended for its present position appears from the circumstance that it conceals a portion of the inscription, as well as from the misfit of the mouldings with those of the façade.

The interest of the Palazzo, apart from its memories of Andrea, lies in the paintings of Pierino del Vaga : but the visitor who enters from the side doorway, and notes the patches of moss which vie with the stains of time and weather upon the walls, must expect to find that much of the glory of his work has passed away. The ceiling of the entrance hall with its long panels on white and brown backgrounds, its sea monsters and triumphs of Scipio, presents an appearance which is far from gay ; and the six marble slabs carved by Montorsoli for the chancel rail in San Matteo, which were brought here in 1613, are thick with dust and cobwebs. Of the two¹ staircases only one remains ;

¹ *Il Palazzo del Principe D'Oría*, p. 20, speaks of two staircases.

the plaster is dropping away, carrying the frescoes of Pierino and Angelini's restorations with it. But these are of less interest than the gallery to which it leads, where, facing south and warmed by the sun, the decorations seem less desolate in the brighter atmosphere. They were probably executed in 1530, and represent the heroes of the D'Oria family painted larger than life—so large, indeed, that in the confined space of the gallery they seem to glower down in princely wrath on the pigmy gazer. Pagano, Lamba and Oberto are here, even if their identity can only be established by a venturesome guess: but Giannettino was painted from the life, on the left of the door as the gallery is entered, and Andrea's form fills the panel on the right of the door leading into the *Salone*. The ceiling of the "Galleria degli Eroi," as it is called, was also painted by Pierino with pagan gods and goddesses, and with the stories of Horatius Cocles, Bremnus, Marcus Curtius, Camillus, and Mucius Scevola before Porsenna.

Right and left of the gallery there were the state apartments of Andrea and of his wife Peretta, each consisting of a large *Salone* with four rooms beyond. Here Pierino was called upon to produce a set of designs for the ceilings; and it was when the cartoons for Peretta's boudoir were exhibited that Geronimo da Treviglio, yielding to the envious promptings of his heart, left the unfinished frescoes on the sea front, and departed from Genoa without even taking leave of the prince. Only the memory of these things remains, for the works are no longer to be seen. All that the visitor will see is the Sala dei Giganti, where Pierino shows us Jupiter in high Heaven separated by a formal and none too vapoury cloud from the Giants against



PORTRAIT OF ANDREA D'ORIA (TITIAN)

THE PALAZZO D' ORIA PANFILI 249

whom he is warring, and another chamber in which is represented the *Carità Romana*. In the former room there is the same sense of oppression called up by the largeness of the figures as in the gallery : they are too near, and are handled in a manner more fitted for the high vault of a church than for an ordinary apartment. Scattered about there are a few treasures of art : a bronze door knocker which was made by the brawling, boasting, but wholly fascinating, Benvenuto Cellini ; four long panels by Brandimarte, and a selection of decrepit chairs, the largest of which the caretaker will proudly tell you is that in which Andrea himself used to sit. In the inner room, too, there are objects of family interest, among them a picture by Tintoretto of the marriage of the Count of Narbonne to Oria, or Orizia della Volta ; for the legend runs that in the dim days of long ago Arduin, Count of Narbonne, came to Genoa on his way to the Crusades, and while he waited for a ship to carry him to Palestine, fell ill under the hospitable roof of Orizia's mother, and was nursed back to health by the two women. He went to the wars, and returned later to wed the beautiful Oria, the children of the marriage taking their mother's name, and founding the noble line from which Andrea D' Oria was sprung. Here, too, there is a portrait of Andrea by Titian, showing him as a sharp-featured and bent old man, with listless folded hands and wistful eyes, which seem to gaze out of the canvas and ask dumbly for news of Gianandrea and the war in Africa ; while an ungainly snake-tailed cat sits on a table, and looks placidly at its master. The picture in this palace which is attributed to Pellegrino Piola is that of Andrea's great dog Rodano.

But to return to Pierino. He remained in Genoa for five years, and then with the changeability common to many of his profession, suddenly removed to Pisa, nor could the entreaties of Andrea bring him back ; and Pordenone was instructed to continue the frescoes towards the sea. This brought the wanderer to his senses, and the two painters seem to have worked side by side until Domenico Beccafumi, whom D' Oria had seen five years earlier in Siena and invited to Genoa, arrived in 1541. Pordenone resented his presence, and, following the example of Gerolamo da Treviglio, immediately departed. Beccafumi went away soon afterwards, once more leaving Pierino supreme and alone.

The two wings beyond the inscription were built by Montorsoli about 1540, and the laying out of the eastern garden with its fountain, by the same artist, was the last important works commissioned by Andrea.

In accordance with the will of D' Oria a year elapsed before his successor, Gianandrea, could touch the buildings : but, except for an extension towards the east in 1566, nothing considerable was undertaken until in 1577 the block of buildings extending on the east from the high road to the sea was erected. About the same time the whole garden which had been previously on a gentle slope was levelled into two terraces : and as Montorsoli's fountain was broken during the work a new one by Gian Giacomo Paracca, better known as Valsoldo, was placed in its stead. This is the "Triton" fountain still existing in the east garden, and usually attributed to Montorsoli.

The eastern gate through which visitors to the palace are admitted was built in 1581 : and the huge

THE PALAZZO D' ORIA PANFILI 251

statue of Jupiter in the upper gardens, and one of the most prominent objects in Genoa, was erected five years later by Marcello Sparzio.¹

If an apology be necessary for such a minute account of these additions, it may be urged that as all the statues and fountains have been fathered indiscriminately on Montorsoli, and the execution and design of the Jupiter alone would blast his fair fame for ever, it is time that a protest were made. Nor did he have any share in the Neptune fountain which stands in the middle of the garden, though the imputation would do less harm. It was designed and made by Taddeo, Giuseppe and Battista Carlone in 1599. The church of San Benedetto had been restored and incorporated in the palace nine years earlier, and with this work the palace may be said to have been finished. There have been terraces built towards the sea and then destroyed: we read of Lazzaro Calvi decorating the Guardaroba of the prince; but these things exist no longer, and when Gianandrea died in 1606 it was fitting that the great *Palazzo a Fassuolo* should remain to us as the last great chief of the D' Oria line had left it.

It is impossible to do justice to the life of Andrea D' Oria in the short space that remains at our disposal. Sigonius and Capelloni wrote of him soon after his death, and were incapable of judging him with impartiality—indeed, it may fairly be supposed that their chief object was to praise the illustrious dead. Then all was practically silence until about fifty years ago a number of books appeared dealing principally with

¹ "A Marcello Sparci scutti venti d' oro in oro . . . a buon conto del Gigante che fa al nicchio della villa, d' alto." *Falsa di Mandati* in the D' Oria archives, quoted in Merli and Belgrano's work, p. 63, note ii.

the Fieschi Conspiracy, and violently contradicting each other.¹ The result is a mass of conflicting evidence as cannot be sifted here, and would only weary the reader.

A complete history of Andrea D' Oria's life would involve the history of all Europe from the year 1466 to 1560, with popes, kings and emperors flitting across the page in all the bewildering magnificence of the period; accordingly it is only possible in this sketch to refer briefly to outside events, while dwelling at greater length on those which concern the Republic of Genoa.

Andrea D' Oria was born on St. Andrew's day, in 1466, his father Ceva being joint lord of Oneglia. When Ceva died Andrea was still a child, and his uncle and guardian Giovanni took unlawful possession of the whole estates. Forced to fight his own way, and fond of a military life, at the age of twenty-six Andrea became a member of the papal guard under its captain Niccolò D' Oria. But when Innocent VIII. died, and was succeeded by Alexander VI., the D' Orias left Rome, and for ten years Andrea was engaged in fighting the battles of the della Rovere against Cesare Borgia, son of the Pope. At the age of thirty-six he returned to Genoa, confident that Niccolò, who was engaged in reducing Corsica, would find him a more remunerative occupation; but he had scarcely landed when Alexander VI. and Pius III. died in quick succession. Giuliano della Rovere was elected Pope under the name of Julius II., and Niccolò, hurrying to Rome to serve him, left Andrea to the supreme

¹ See, in the List of Books, Bernabò Brea, Celesia, Olivieri, Guerrazzi and L. T. Belgrano. Also Atti di Stor. Pat., vol. viii. for Spanish, and vol. xxiii. for Tuscan, documents touching on the matter.

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command in Corsica.¹ The campaign was brought to a satisfactory conclusion in 1511, when Ranuccio, the rebel chief, was starved into surrender.

In the following year the French were driven from Genoa, and under the new Doge, Giano Fregoso, D' Oria became *Prefetto del Porto* of Genoa, and received his baptism of fire at sea on the galley of Emanuele Cavalli at the siege of the Briglia. He next appears as second in command of a fleet composed of French, Genoese and Papal galleys; and when he proved too successful, and was relieved of his command, his friends presented him with four ships, which were taken into the service of the Republic. This was in 1517, and for the next few years we lose sight of him in the maze of European politics, noting only the fact of his public marriage in 1526 to Peretta Usodimare, a woman of about his own age. Andrea was then sixty-one, but had already married Peretta secretly some years before.²

Charles V. meanwhile had succeeded Maximilian as Emperor, and was also by inheritance King of Spain: and Francis I., his rival and restless enemy, was king in France. When Genoa fell under the lash of Spain in 1522 Andrea D' Oria took service with France "to find some means of avenging his country for the cruel sack which it had suffered," and knowing

¹ The accusation levelled by Guerrazzi, *Vita di Andrea D' Oria*, vol. i. p. 61, that D' Oria refused to accept the submission of the rebel chief in order to prolong his own services has been successfully rebutted by Belgrano, *della Vita di Andrea D' Oria di F. D. Guerrazzi*, etc., who produces a letter written to the Banca di San Giorgio in which he entreats the Governors to liberate him from the command, "because my being here is greatly to my damage without being of any service to yourselves."

² "Matrimonium, quod multis annis ante . . . contraxerat divulgavit; ac nuptias quam magnificentissimo apparatu celebravit." Sigonio, *De rebus gestis Andreae Doriae*.

that the best chance of achieving this end lay in allying himself with the interests of Francis. It would be impossible to lay too much emphasis on the part which the Genoese admiral played in this great duel, and though it does not so much concern Genoa—save inasmuch as D' Oria was one of her citizens—it is necessary that we should look with particular care at the events of the few following years. History has shown us that whichever of the two rivals retained the services of Andrea D' Oria obtained the mastery of the seas during the period of his allegiance. To France he rendered distinguished services by relieving the besieged garrison of Marseilles, and capturing both the Prince of Orange and Ugo di Moncada, the Imperial Admiral, in 1525. The star of France seemed to be in the ascendant, and Francis made D' Oria a promise of 15,000 ducats in exchange for the person of the Prince of Orange. Then followed the defeat at Pavia, where Francis himself was made prisoner; and D' Oria during the captivity of the king, enlisted under the banner of Pope Clement VII.

But Rome, too, was to fall a victim to Spain; and while the Constable de Bourbon lay encamped about the city D' Oria freed himself from his obligations, and returned to Francis, in order to profit by the Emperor's pre-occupation, and by releasing Genoa from the Spaniards fulfil the object nearest his heart. With little trouble he drove out both the Governor and the Adorni, so that the city came once more under the tutelage of France. D' Oria was to receive 36,000 scudi a year for his services as Admiral of the French fleet, and for the use of his eight galleys. The contract then made was to endure until the end of June 1528.

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The year 1528, when Andrea had reached an age at which most men begin to look for a quiet decline into the grave, merely marked for him the turning point of his life. Francis had not paid the ransom of the Prince of Orange, had never fulfilled his promise of restoring Savona to Genoa, and D' Oria was owed nearly two years' pay. It is no wonder that he wrote to tell the Grand Master of France that "he did not know how to work miracles, and would be obliged to give up his position in order that others might try to do what he was doing without provisions or money." His remonstrances met with but little sympathy, and there seems to have been a strong party at court opposed to the Admiral's cause ; certain it is that his complaints were judged unfounded ; he was deprived of his office, and Barbesieux, who was appointed to succeed him, received instructions to proceed to Genoa and take him prisoner.

Andrea had retired to Lerici ; hither Barbesieux sent a messenger inviting him to return to Genoa. Andrea replied that he was ill. Barbesieux sailed to Lerici, and asked him to visit him on board. Andrea responded that he was too unwell to leave his bed. In the end the French commander was obliged to interview the wily Genoese in his own chamber, and returned to France without having fulfilled his mission.

As the month of June wore on, and it became evident that D' Oria had no intention of renewing his contract with Francis, that monarch seems to have realised that upon the favour of D' Oria hung the command of the sea, and possibly, the whole fortune of the war. He therefore endeavoured by all the means in his power to retain D' Oria in his allegiance, and offered to give

up Savona to the Genoese, and to pay what was due to the Admiral himself. But Andrea had received promises from Francis before, and being no less doubtful of these new proffers, refused to listen.

Nowhere is there proof to support the opinion that before the expiration of his contract with France, D' Oria had made any treaty with the Emperor, though it is evident from the correspondence between the Prince of Orange and the Emperor that he had been sounded and found more or less disposed to listen. The new agreement was signed in Madrid on August 2nd, 1528 ; and among other things it stipulated that Genoa should be free and self-governing ; that Savona should be given back ; that D' Oria should be Admiral-in-chief of the Spanish fleet ; and that the duration of the compact should be two years.

D' Oria's first act was to free Genoa from the French. His behaviour throughout has been considered as a piece of disinterested patriotism by all those writers who have not paused to consider what a very uncomfortable residence Genoa would afford to one who had flouted the French king to his face, and was actually at war with him at the time. Apart from sentiment, it was necessary to Andrea that the French yoke should be removed, and despite the timidity of the Senate, who implored him to make no disturbance in the state, Andrea sailed to Genoa to effect his purpose. The French galleys in the harbour sailed away, and left the Liberator of his Country free to land unopposed, to march through deserted and plague-stricken streets to the Palazzo Ducale, and to render possible those reforms which have already been described. For his services the Senate accorded him the title of *Patriæ Pater et Liberator*, decreed that a



FOUNTAIN OF NEPTUNE, PALAZZO D'ORIA

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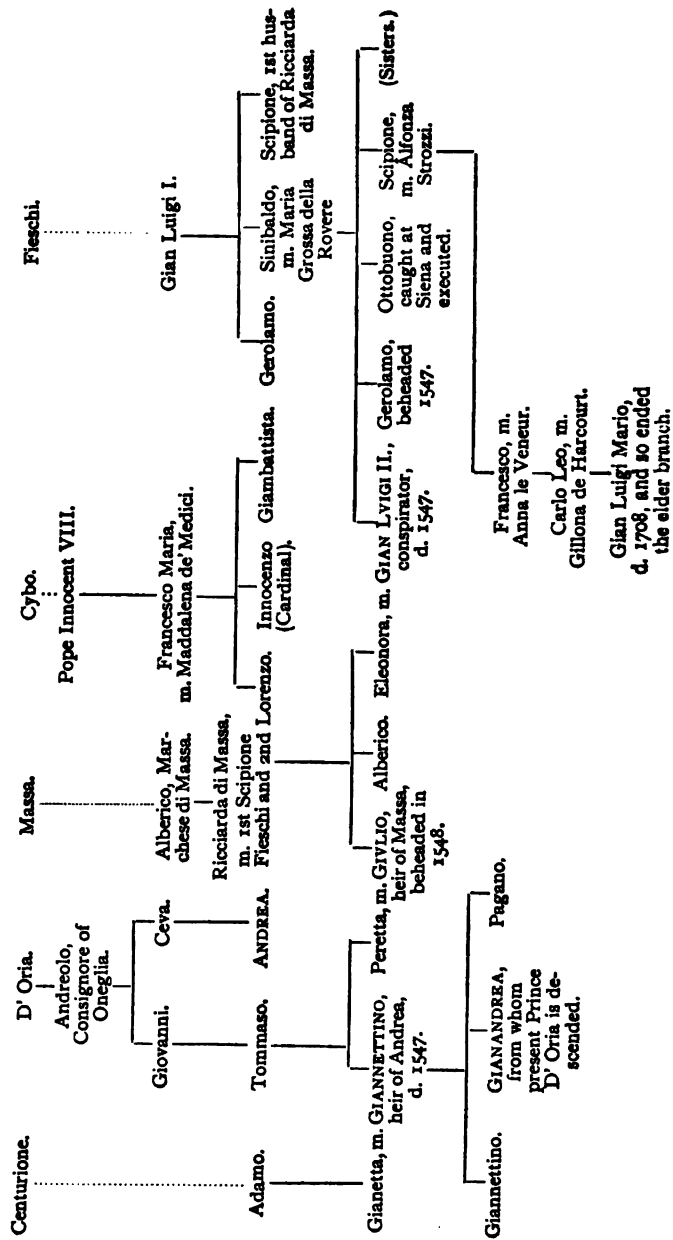
splendid statue (*quanto ornatus erigi poterit*) should be set up with a suitable inscription before the Palazzo, and presented him with the palace in Piazza San Matteo referred to at the beginning of the chapter. It was originally built by Cesare D' Oria, son of the gallant Lamba, and his initials C. A. may still be seen beside the coat of arms of the family.

Thus Andrea D' Oria with his galleys, taking with him the terror of his name, passed over into the service of Charles V.

The expeditions which he undertook on behalf of Charles V. must be passed over in silence together with the war against the Turks for which the consecrated sword, cap and girdle were given him by Paul III. as to a defender of the true faith: nor is it possible to do more than hint at the magnificent reception accorded to the Emperor, who was "so astounded at the sumptuousness of the palace" that when Andrea offered it to him as a gift it was accepted with the stipulation that the D' Oria were to live in it for ever as his tenants. It was on this occasion that Andrea spread a feast, and threw the dishes of gold and silver into the sea, having first taken the precaution of spreading a net to catch them "as it seemed preferable that they should lie in his closets rather than at the bottom of the harbour."

Having great possessions and no son to leave them to Andrea adopted his young cousin Giannettino, about whom a great deal has been written which is untrue. It has been said that his father Tommaso¹

¹ The following genealogical table will show the relationship of the two D' Oria and their connection with the Cybo and Fieschi, who conspired against them. The various intermarriages will be seen at a glance, as well as the extinction of the Fieschi race which had found a refuge in France.



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was poor, and that Giannettino was for some time a weaver's apprentice ; whereas Tommaso was one of the *Procuratori di San Giorgio*, and married the daughter of the rich Lorenzo Grillo, so that Giannettino was passing wealthy before he became heir to Andrea.

The abortive conspiracy which Gianluigi Fieschi launched against Genoa and the D' Oria in 1547 has been given undue importance by all writers from Bonfadio downwards. It is certainly a picturesque incident ; but it did little damage, did not affect the life of the Republic, and caused no change in the form of government. Fieschi hated the D' Oria, and envying their proud position, determined to drag them down by a sudden blow which was to be delivered on the night previous to the election of a new Doge. The important incidents as touching the story of Andrea are the death of Fieschi by drowning, the murder of Giannettino by Fieschi's adherents as he passed through the Porto di San Tommaso, and the subsequent revenge of the Father of his Country.

The Admiral, eighty-one years of age, was ill in bed at the time of the outbreak, and when the news was brought to the palace his servants escaped with him to Masone, about fifteen miles distant. It was here that he was told of Giannettino's death, and heard that the Senate had pardoned the Fieschi on condition that they left the city immediately. The effect on him of these two personal wrongs shows us the strongest, if not the most admirable, side of his character. His hopes were dead with the death of Giannettino, but the hated Fieschi still lived ; and Giannettino had left an infant son Gianandrea, eight years of age, who might still become the pride of his house.

Andrea resolved to live until Gianandrea should arrive at years of discretion, and vowed to wipe out the family of the traitors. He ordered the corpse of Gianluigi to be hung up in the city as an object of shame; and when the Senate dissuaded him from such a course set watchmen to guard the spot where the swollen and discoloured body lay floating in the water for two months. With the aid of lawyers he convinced the Senate that their promise of pardon was not binding, and in due course the chief conspirators were condemned to death, and others sentenced to terms of banishment.¹ The palace in Vialata was destroyed, and the Fieschi were offered 50,000 crowns for the surrender of the fortress of Montobbio, where they had taken refuge. The offer was refused; and, urged by Andrea, siege was laid to the stronghold for forty-two days by Genoese and Imperial troops. When it fell, through famine and treachery, Gerolamo Fieschi was immediately beheaded. His brother Ottobuono, while fighting for France at Siena, was captured five years later, when the relentless Andrea caused his victim to be placed in a sack and stood by while he was clubbed to death. Scipione alone escaped, and took up his residence at the French court.

Having completed this portion of his self-imposed

¹ Guerrazzi says that it was Figuerroa who demanded the extermination of the Fieschi; but in the Spanish documents quoted in the *Atti di Stor. Pat.*, vol. viii., there is a letter from D' Oria to the Emperor in which he says: "We are waiting with the utmost impatience for your majesty to show your abhorrence of this abominable treason and the wickedness and presumption of this miscreant Count . . . and as it is of the greatest importance to make an example of him so as to strike terror into the hearts of similar malefactors and to encourage all who are faithful . . . I entreat your majesty not to allow the blood of your servitor Giannettino to pass unrevenged upon the traitors."

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task, D' Oria devoted himself to the education of Gianandrea, at the same time retaining his position as Admiral of Spain, and holding on to life itself by a sheer effort of will until he could safely leave the conduct of affairs in the hands of his adopted son. In spite of his age he carried on a vigorous campaign against the corsair Dragut, and in his eighty-eighth year undertook supreme command of the war in Corsica.

Four years later (1553) when Charles abdicated in favour of his son, Andrea D' Oria's task was done. He was ninety-two years old, and had lived long enough to bridge the gulf left by the death of Giannettino, and to hand over his command to Gianandrea, now a youth of twenty. He retired to Fassuolo, still grieving for his loss, but happy in the thought that his weary eyes would close on the bright prospects of Gianandrea, Commander-in-Chief for the Emperor, who was fighting successfully against the ever advancing Turk.

Then came the news that all was not well with the fleet, as Andrea sat in his arm-chair reviewing the past. Gianandrea had been caught in Malta by the enemy, had lost all his galleys, and was himself in all probability a Turkish galley slave. This was the last stroke; and as they told him the white head sank upon his breast: except for the slight heaving of the chest old Andrea was at last dead, and dead with the terrible belief that after all Gianandrea had fallen in battle or into the hands of the infidel. The effort to live on and fill the gap had been made in vain.

His servants moved about on tip toe, or conversed in whispers, as the dying man, who had been in turn

the scourge of Spain, France, the Papacy and the Turk fought his last battle—with death. Then a courier was announced, and his bearing showed that the news he brought was good news. An attendant crept up to the Admiral, and touching him gently on the shoulder, whispered :—

“A courier.”

Andrea opened dying eyes and faltered :—

“What news?”

“By the grace of God, good news.”

The courier was admitted, and Andrea tried in vain to read the despatches; his eyes were grown too dim. A page read them through rapidly, while the life flowed back to the sunken cheeks.

Suddenly the dying man sprang unaided from his chair, and stood erect with his arms stretched up towards heaven :—

“Oh my God! my God! I thank Thee!”

He sank back fainting into the arms of his attendants, and a few days later, November 24th (1560), he complained of great weakness, and had no more hope of living to see the return of Gianandrea. “Tell him,” said he, “to serve the Republic and the Emperor with all his might.”¹

On the following day he died, closing a strenuous existence of nearly ninety-four years' duration with an unexpected gleam of happiness. His remains were placed quietly and by night in the place prepared for him in San Matteo.

For the Genoese he is something of a patron saint. They still talk of the old days of Liberty, and point to

¹ The account of Andrea's last moments is taken almost verbatim from Guerrazzi, *op. cit.*

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the naked pedestal where once his statue stood ; placed
there because once

. . . . "He stood before
The assembled fathers of the city, and with ringing voice
Said : Citizens and countrymen, our Fatherland
Once more is saved. From Frankish yoke
And Spanish tyranny I freed it : see ye
That it continue proud and free."¹

¹ Terenzio Mamiani, *Inno a Sant' Elmo*.

APPENDIX I

LIST OF PICTURES IN THE CHIEF CHURCHES AND PALACES OF GENOA.

PALAZZO BIANCO

ENTRANCE LOBBY.—A. Lomi, *Stoning of St. Stephen*. Assereto, *Flagellation*. G. B. Carlone, *Miraculous Draught of Fishes, Virgin and Child with Saints, Calling of St. Matthias*. G. B. Castiglione, *Satyr*. D. Piola, *Christ teaching the Doctors in the Temple, The Blessing of Jacob, The Woman taken in Adultery*. Cast of the Porto Pisano monument. Cast of the head of Janus in San Lorenzo. Della Robbia, *Virgin and Child*.

FIRST ROOM.—N. Barrabino, *Last Hours of Vittore Emanuele II*. Unknown, A masculine looking *Madonna*. G. Castagnola, *Death of Alessandro de' Medici, Portrait of a young Genoese Woman*. G. A. Carlone, *Virgin with SS. Siro and Antonio*. D. Fiasella, *Wedding of the Virgin*. B. Strozzi, *S. Teresa*. G. B. Carlone, *St. James fighting the Moors, Crucifixion*.

SECOND ROOM.—The Greek Palio. G. Reni, *David, Holy Family*. D. Fiasella, *Angelica and Modorus*.

THIRD ROOM (Dutch and Flemish Masters).—*Last Supper*, unknown. Wentkoer, *The Market, Kitchen Wench*. F. Floris, *Virgin and Child with SS. Mauro and Gerolamo*. Attributed to Quintino, *Adoration*. H. Memlinc, *Virgin and Child. A Crucifixion* (referred to at length elsewhere). A. Vandyk, *The Tribute Money*. Holbein, *Portrait of a Woman*.

FOURTH ROOM.—Monteverde, marble group of Jenner inoculating his son. Ribera, *S. Jerome*. Murillo, *S. Francis of Assisi in ecstasy, Flight into Egypt, Virgin and*

Child (half length). Zurbaran, *St. Ursula, The Last Supper, St. Euphemia*. A. Cano (master of Murillo), *The Communion*, L. Robert, *A Funeral in Romagna*. Strozzi, *St. Francis of Assisi*.

FIFTH ROOM.—Guercino, *St. John the Evangelist*. Tintoretto, *The Journey to Calvary*. J. Bassano, *Presepio*. A. Caracci, *St. Lorenzo*. P. Veronese, *Child Praying*. Sassoferrato, *The Madonna*. S. Rosa, *The Witch*. C. Dolci, *The Agony in the Garden*. G. Reni, *The Four Sibyls*. O. Gentileschi, *Virgin and Child*. Fra. Bartolomeo, *S. Lucia, S. Chiara*. Filippino Lippi, *The Martyrdom of S. Sebastian*. G. Francia, *Virgin and Child with S. John Baptist*. Palma Vecchio, *Virgin and Child with Saints*. Sassoferrato, *Virgin and Child*. P. Veronese, *Crucifixion*. Correggio, *Virgin in Adoration of the Infant Christ*. Tiepolo, *Four Biblical Subjects*.

SIXTH ROOM (Early Genoese painters).—L. Brea, *St. Peter, Crucifixion*. F. Brea, *S. Fabiano*. Unknown, *SS. Nicolo di Bari and Giorgio*. Strozzi, *Christ dead, S. Cecilia*. Unknown, *S. Lorenzo*. B. Strozzi, *The Woman of Samaria*. Unknown, *St. Antonio*. Unknown, *Virgin and Child with Saints*, in six compartments. Castiglione, sketch for a *Crucifixion*. P. Piola, *S. Barbara*. Unknown, *St. Francis receiving the Stigmata*. *Virgin and Child* (Byzantine painting which is referred to elsewhere). L. Cambiaso, *Saints*. Lionardo di Pavia, *Virgin and Child with Saints*.

First Gallery.—D. Piola, *Charity, Justice*. G. B. Castiglione, *The Daughters of Laban*. L. Cambiaso, *Callixtus at the Bath of Diana*. Raggi, *The Supper at Emmaus*.

SEVENTH ROOM.—Contains Etruscan remains, and some fragments of Frescoes by Cambiaso.

EIGHTH ROOM.—D. Piola, *The Magdalen contemplating the Cross*. Tintoretto, *Crucifixion*. Unknown, *The Madonna*. Cognet, *The Duchess of Galliera with her infant son Filippo*. Grechetto, *The Exit from the Ark*. B. Strozzi, *SS. Caterina and Cecilia*. N. Barrabino, Sketch for the Altarpiece in the Immacolata. Lanfranco, *Resurrection*. C. Dolci, *Salvator Mundi*. *Virgin and Child*, Venetian school. G. B. Castello, *Assumption*.

Second Gallery.—L. Cambiaso, *Virgin and Child with Saints*. D. Fiasella, *The Magdalen*. Some fine laces and vestments, the latter from the church of Masone.

NINTH ROOM (modern painters).—Beccaria, four landscapes, *the Drinking Trough*. Luxoro, *the River Entella*, another view of the same. Gonin, *the Warning, the Fugitive*. Belucci, *Death of Alessandro de' Medici*. Biscarra, *Landscape with Animals*. Cabianca, *Seashore*. Gamba, *Seascape*. Peschiera, *Peasant and child*. G. Induno, *the Spinner*. Crosa, *Girl pouring out wine for a young man*. D. Induno, *Girl counting her marketing money*. D' Andrade, *The Bormida River*. Lefebre, *Landscape*. Rayper, *Landscape*. Gervasoni, *The Return from the Fields*. Chierici, *Domestic Scene*. Bechi, *After the Storm*. Querena, *Sacristy of Sta. Maria del Castello, Interior of Sta. Maria del Castello*. Comba, *Study in Still Life*. B. de Loose, *The Drawing Lesson*. Pollastrini, *Battle of Legnano*. Massa, *Landscape with Cattle*. Noris, *Landscape*. Markò, *View of Florence*. Zamboni, *Sunset*. Pucci, *Andrea D' Oria receiving the banner of the Republic before the Church of San Lorenzo for the Campaign in Corsica*. Isola, *Andrea refusing the crown* (an entirely fictitious event).

TENTH ROOM.—Entirely devoted to pottery, of which there is a very fine collection. It is nearly all the work of the Savonese and neighbouring factories. The present *terraglia*, used in all the kitchens of the Liguria instead of iron saucepans, is made near Albissola.

PALAZZO ROSSO.

C. Baratta, *ceiling* with the Virtues and Columbus. G. A. Carlone, *ceiling* of the Virtues. G. de' Ferrari, *ceiling* with allegorical subject. V. Castello, *Rape of the Sabines*. D. Piola, *Car of Apollo*. Guidobono, "*Lot drunk by his Daughters*," *Abraham and Hagar*, *Abraham and the Angels*, and another. V. Castello, *The Dream of Joseph*. L. Cambiaso, *Apollo and Marsyas*. D. Fiasella, *Tarquin and Lucretia*.

Sala Primavera, with ceiling of "Spring" by G. de'

Ferrari. Vandyk, *Portrait of P. A. Brignole*, *Port. of Prince of Orange*, *Port. of A. G. Brignole-Sale on horseback*, another portrait. P. Bordone, "*Man with black beard and red handles*" (see the English catalogue supplied in the room). Titian, *Philip II. of Spain*. B. Strozzi, *S. Francis*. Guercino, *Death of Cato*. Bordone, *Portrait of a Venetian Lady*.

Sala D' Estate with ceiling of "Summer" by G. de' Ferrari. Guercino, *Christ clearing the Temple*. Caravaggio, *Resurrection of Lazarus*. Giordano, *Olinda and Sophronia*. Veronese, *Presepio*. B. Strozzi, *half length of St. Paul*, *Incredulity of St. Thomas*. Reni, *S. Sebastian*.

Sala d' Autunno, with ceiling of "Autumn" by D. Piola. F. Schiaffino, bust of G. F. Brignole-Sale. Guercino, *Virgin and Child with Saints*. Del Sarto, *Holy family*. G. Bellini, *Portrait of Francesco Fileto*. B. Strozzi, *S. Francis in Adoration*. Reni, *Head of the Virgin*, *Head of Christ*. Castiglione, *Journey into Egypt*. Giac. Palma, *Visit of the Magi*.

Sala del Inverno, with ceiling of "Winter" by D. Piola. Veronese, *Judith and Holofernes*. Proccacini, *Virgin and Child with Saints*. L. Cambiaso, *The Dead Christ*. Veronese, *Annunciation*. Pierino del Vaga, *Holy family with the Infant Baptist*. Bordone, *SS. Joseph, Jerome and Caterina*. Maratta, *Repose in Egypt*. B. Strozzi, *Virgin and Child with infant Baptist*. P. Piola, *The Virgin and Child with S. Elizabeth and infant St. John*. P. Bordone, two portraits. P. P. Rubens, *Man in Black*.

Gallery of the Ruined Temple of Diana, ceiling by P. G. Piola, done when he was a youth. The "ruins" are by Viviani.

Sala della Vita d' Uomo, ceiling by G. A. Carlone representing the Fates.

A. Caracci, *Christ and S. Veronica*. Guercino, *The Eternal*. V. Castello, *Presepio*. Vandyk, three portraits. Veronese, portrait.

Sala delle Virtù, ceiling by L. de' Ferrari.

B. Strozzi, *Maid plucking a Chicken*, *Charity*. G. B. Carbone, *Portrait of a Woman*. D. Piola, *Child on a Globe*.

Sala of the Youth put to Trial, ceiling by D. Parodi. B. Strozzi, *Charity*. S. Scorza, *The Sacrifice of Noah, Abraham parting from Lot*. Guercino, *Death of Cleopatra*. G. Reni, *Four Sibyls*.

Sala of the Judgment of Paris, ceiling by D. Parodi. The decorations were by Aldobrandini.

G. B. Castiglione, *Noah and the Animals entering the Ark*.

PALAZZO PALLAVICINO.

Mulinaretto, two portraits. Assereto, *Rebecca at the Well*. B. Strozzi, *Portrait of a Bishop*. V. Castello, *Abraham and the Angels*. G. A. de' Ferrari, *Virgin and Child*. G. B. Castiglione, *Hagar and Ishmael*. G. Franceschini, *Thetis dipping Achilles in the Styx*. P. G. Piola, *Ceiling representing Janus giving the keys to Jupiter after shutting Mars in the Temple*. G. B. Gaulli, *S. Francis of Assisi*. M. A. Franceschini, *The Magdalen supported by Angels, Virgin and Child*. B. Strozzi, *Our Lady of Griefs*. G. A. de' Ferrari, *Joseph sold to the Ishmaelites*. P. del Vaga, *Charity*. D. Piola, *S. Jerome*, Strozzi, *S. Caterina*, S. John. O. de' Ferrari, *S. Paul*.

SAINT AMBROGIO.

Designed by Padre Valeriani, a Jesuit, and completed in 1589. G. Carlone (first bay nave), *Last Judgment*; (second bay), *Ascension*. (Dome) *Paradise*, retouched by D. Fiasella. G. B. Carlone, *Evangelists in the dome spandrels*. F. Biggi, four statues in the drum. G. Carlone (third bay), *The Entry into Jerusalem*. (Fourth bay) *The Adoration of the Magi*. He also painted the vaults of the transeptal chapels. Over the Assumption, *The Coronation of the Virgin*; in the north transept, *The Crucifixion*.

FIRST CHAPEL ON RIGHT.—Decorations by P. Cavatorta. Statues of SS. Ambrogio and Carlo Borromeo, by Tad. Carlone. Picture of *St. Ambrogio refusing to allow the Emperor Theodosius to enter the Temple*, by G. A. de' Ferrari. Dome painted by G. Galeotto.

SECOND CHAPEL.—*Crucifixion*, by S. Vovet (French);

dome, by L. de' Ferrari; marble group under altar, by Tom. Carlone.

THIRD CHAPEL.—Contains the celebrated *Assumption* by Guido Reni; the marbles are by the Carlone family.

FOURTH CHAPEL.—Dome by L. de' Ferrari; statues of the Baptist and Magdalen by B. Carlone. *Picture of the Virgin and Child with S. Stanislaus*, by A. Pozzo of Trento.

CHAPEL AT TOP OF AISLE.—Frescoes by G. B. Carlone. F. Waels, *St. Peter released from prison* (the angel was repainted by Vandyk). Marble angels supporting the altar by B. Carlone.

CHOIR.—*Circumcision*, by Rubens, over the high altar. *Journey into Egypt*, by D. Piola; and *Massacre of the Innocents*, by G. B. Merano, on the side walls. Statues of SS. Peter and Paul, by Gius. Carlone. Candelabra, by Annibale Busca.

FIRST CHAPEL ON LEFT.—*S. Francis Xavier preaching*, by a pupil of Reni. Two pictures from the life of the saint, by D. Fiasella. Frescoes in vault, by V. Castello. Four statues by the pupils of Casella.

SECOND CHAPEL.—*St. Ignatius casting out the evil spirit*, by Rubens, one of the finest pictures in the city. Statues of Abraham and David, by B. Carlone. Over the frieze, a painting by G. B. Castello.

THIRD CHAPEL.—*The Stoning of St. Stephen*, by G. B. Paggi. Painting in dome, by L. de' Ferrari. Statue of S. Lorenzo, by B. Carlone. Statue of S. Vincent, by Tad. Carlone.

FOURTH CHAPEL.—*Baptism of Christ*, by D. Passignano. Paintings in dome (except the *Beheading of the Baptist*, which is by B. Castello), by L. de' Ferrari. Statues of S. Elizabeth and S. Zacchariah, by Tad. Carlone. (It was through this chapel that the Doge had his private entrance from the adjacent Palazzo Ducale.)

LAST CHAPEL.—*S. Francesco Borgia*, by Pozzo. Decorations in the dome, by L. De' Ferrari.

STA. MARIA IN CARIGNANO.

L. Cambiaso, *Deposition from the Cross, Annunciation*. Proccacini, *Virgin and Saints*. Guercino, *S. Francis* (lengthened by D. Piola). Maratta, *Martyrdom of St. Blaise*. G. A. Piola, *SS. Peter and Paul healing a paralytic*. D. Fiasella, *S. Alessandro Sauli*. D. Parodi, statue of the Baptist (under dome). Puget, statue of S. Alessandro Sauli (under dome). Puget, statue of S. Sebastian (under dome). P. G. Piola, *Picture of Saints*. Soldani, the bronzes of the high altar. Benvenuto Cellini, six candlesticks in the chapel to the left of the high altar. The group over the great portal was begun by D. Borgognone and finished by B. Schiaffino.

STO. STEFANO.

G. Romano, *Martyrdom of St. Stephen*. V. Malo, *Death of S. Ampeglio*. Saltarello, *S. Benedict*. G. B. Capellino, *S. Francesca Romana*. D. Piola, *Riposo, St. Peter freed from his chains, Last Supper*. V. Castello, *Conversion of St. Paul, Presepio, Massacre of the Innocents* (the last two were finished by G. B. Merano). G. A. Ansaldo, *Stoning of St. Stephen*. G. B. Baiardo, *Burial of St. Stephen*. Assereto, *Incredulity of St. Thomas*. G. B. Baiardo, *Raising of a dead child*. B. Castello, *Virgin and Saints*. G. A. de' Ferrari, *St. Germain and the Devils*. C. G. Ratti, *S. Michael driving out the evil spirits*. G. de' Ferrari, *Death of Sta. Scholastica*. D. Piola, *S. Christopher*.

STA. MARIA DELLE VIGNE.

D. Parodi, *SS. Stephen and Leonard*. G. B. Carlone, *Annunciation*. G. de' Ferrari, *St. Michael and the evil spirits*. B. Castello, *S. Francis receiving the Stigmata, the Crucifixion of a thousand saints*. L. Tavarone, frescoes in the choir vault. C. G. Ratti, *S. Nicola and the Trinity*. Marigliano, figures of the Virgin, Baptist, and a Crucifixion. D. Piola, *S. John the Evangelist writing*. Marigliano, *S. Antonio of Padua*.

STA. MARIA DEL CARMINE.

G. B. Paggi, *Assumption, Nativity*. Sori, *Death of S. Jerome*. G. B. Carlone, *Descent of the Virgin into Purgatory, Elijah and the Prophets of Baal, Miracle of Elijah, St. Louis of France, Christ appearing to the disciples*. Raggi, *S. Simon Stock* (this is the picture through which Raggi threw a chair when angry). B. Castello, *Virgin and S. Teresa*. B. Castello, *S. Francesco di Paolo*. G. B. Merano, *Miracle of St. Angelo*. Raggi, *Ecstasy of St. Teresa*.

APPENDIX II.

BATTLE OF MELORIA.	Genoa.	Pisa.	Taken.	Sunk.	Prisoners.	Killed.
Bizaro (De Bello Pisano) . . .	88 and 8	72 about	28	7	9000 (a)	...
De Mussi, p. 482 . . .	...	170	29	...	10,000	...
Cronica di Pisa . . .	...	45	...	...	11,000	...
Stella, G. . .	88 and 8	...	...	...	9272 (a)	...
Fragmenta Historiæ Pisanæ. In R.I.S., vol. xxiv. . .	110	65 and 11	27	...	11,000	1285
Fragmenta Historiæ Pisanæ. In R.I.S., vol. xxiv. . .	107 and more	61 and 9	30	...	...	...
Saraceni, vol. ii. 379 . . .	130	100	49	...	...	12,000
Villani, G., col. 299 . . .	136 and others	80	40	some	16,000 killed and taken	
Serra, vol. ii. 186 . . .	88 and 8	103	40	7	9272	...
Sigonio, p. 6 . . .	88	...	27	7	9000 and more	...
Fanucci, lib. iii. 94 . . .	88 and 8	100 and others	...	...	16,000 (a)	...
Sansovino . . .	88	72	19	...	9272	...
Buoninsegni, p. 83 . . .	130 about	70 about	40	...	16,000 killed and taken	
Morisotus, p. 515 . . .	88	72	30	7	...	5000
Roncioni, p. 607 . . .	130	85	28	21	9272 (a)	1600 to 5000

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Pipino, col. 731	.	96	72 and more	33	many	f 3,000	3000
Tronci, p. 513	.	130	103	28	7	11,000	5000
Veneroso, p. 34	.	84 and 8	100	40	...	9200	...
Vincens, vol. i. p. 364	.	88 and 7	...	29	7	11,000	5000
Sismondi, iv. 18	.	107	103	28	7	11,000	5000
Muratori, Annales, ix. 535	.	88 and 8	72 and more	29	7	11,000	...
Marangone, i. 562	.	130 and others	103	...	...	...	5000
D' Oria	.	88 and 8	70	...	...	10,000 and killed and	more taken
Giustiniani	.	88 and 8	70	28	7	9272	5000
Foglietta	.	88 and 8	70	28	...	9000 and more	5000 and more
Interiano	.	88 and 8	70	...	...	...	5000 and more
Deza, p. 150	.	88 and 8	100 or 120	28	7	10,000	5000
Accinelli, Compendio	.	88 and 8	70	28	7	9272	5000
Ferrari, p. 232	.	130	100 about	28	...	12,000	16,000
Maily, i. 213	.	80 and 8	72	28	7	9000 and more	5000 and more
Dal Borgo, Diss. 10	.	88 and 8	103	29	7	16,000 killed and	more taken

(a) With those taken in previous battles. Sardo, Cronaca Pisana calmly leaves out all reference to the battle.

APPENDIX II. (*continued*)

BATTLE OF CURZOLA.	Genoa.	Venice.	Led Back.	Burnt.	Total Destroyed.	Prisoners.	Killed.
Laugier, iii. 77	66	95	18	...	60 and more	5-6000	...
Veneroso, p. 35	60	97	...	...	85	30,000	...
Vincens, i. 398	70	97	18	67	85	7400	...
Ferreti	75	96	...	...	82	6654 killed and taken	...
Morisotus, p. 517	98	90	...	...	78	...	...
Bizaro (De Bello Venetiano) (<i>a</i>)	73	92	...	...	80	7400	...
Naugerio, col. 1008 (<i>b</i>)	85	85	...	...	65	...	...
De la Houssaye, p. 374	...	...	18	67	85	7000	...
Daru	66	95	18	65	83	7000	...
Villani, G., col. 360	110	120	...	...	70	...	...
Serra, ii. 223	85 to 100	98 to 120	...	...	12 escaped	6654	10,000 about
Sigonio, p. 7	78	100 about	18	77	95	7300	...
Fanucci, iii. 144	85	96	...	...	82	7000	9000
Saraceni, ii. 381	70	90	...	...	nearly all taken	4000	...
Sabellico, i. 247 (<i>c</i>)	66 or 70	95	...	...	all taken	4000	...
Siamondi, iv. 244 (<i>d</i>)	...	95	18	66	84	7000	...
Muratori Annales, ix. 645	78 or 85	95 or 97	18	67	85	6500 or 7400	9000 about

Sauli	60	100 and more	...	...	65	5000	...
Sanuto	66	75	...	...	...	...	...
Diedo, i. 105	66	90	...	...	all taken	4000	...
Deza	66	90	18	...	76	...	...
Interiano	73	97	...	...	...	7400	...
Dandolo, col. 407	85	95	...	...	...	...	...
Ferrari	70	95	18	...	65	8000	...
Stella, G.	78	97	18	...	84	...	...
Giustiniani	78	97	18	...	85	...	...
Foglietta	78	98	18	...	85	7400	...
Accinelli	70	97	8	...	84	7400	...
Caresino	85	95	...	...	85	...	...
Maily, i. 233	73	97	...	...	65	7000 and more	...
					85		

(a) Bizaro gives the number of Genoese as 73, 78, or 98.

(b) Nauzerio says that twenty of the Venetian ships did not engage.

(c) Sabbellico, however, remarks that he does not believe his own statement.

(d) Simondi says Genoa was slightly inferior in numbers to Venice.

Foscarini has a MS. note saying that Venice had 95 ships. "Presono i Zenovesi galle 29 di d.a armada con tutti li homini et quando lo capitano souze a Venezia el fo condenado de douer star un' anno in preson et la lui mori."

APPENDIX II. (*continues*)

BATTLE OF BOSFORO TRACIO.	Genoese.	Venetians,	Aragonese.	Greeks.	Total Allies.	Genoa Lost.	Venice Lost.	Aragon Lost.	Greeks Lost.	Total Loss of Allies.	Prisoners.	Killed.
Laugier, iii. 445	60	...	...	...	100 and more	Losses	Losses	about equal	about equal	equal	...	...
Veneroso	60	45	30	14	89	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Blondus (dec. ii. lib. x.) (a)	60	40	30	40	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bizaro	60	40	30	11 or 19	81 or 89	...	30	...	...	58	...	4000
Vincens, V. iii.	60	45	30	14	89	3	24	10	...	...	...	...
Naugerio	63	30	22	...	67	...	...	...	...	...	...	3500
Stella, G.	60	45 about	30	14	...	3	...	...	...	...	4000	...
Daru, i. 615.	60	37	30	8	75	13	14	10	2	26	...	...
Bianchi, p. 43	60	34	30	8	72	...	30	18	...	...	1800	4000
Villani, M., col. 145	64	...	...	8	75	13	14	10	2	26	1800	2000
Serra . . . . .	...	27	23	...	77	13	14	10	...	...	1800	...
Sigonio, p. 7	60	...	...	...	90	...	30	18	...	...	...	...
Fanucci	66	...	...	14	...	13	14	10	2	26	...	...

APPENDIX II

Saraceni, ii. 396	.	.	60	40	30	14	84	...	...	...	...	...	...
Sismondi, vi. 110	.	.	64	...	...	8	67	13	14	10	2	26	1800
Muratori, xii. 419	.	.	64	27	23	...	70	13	14	10	2	26	5800 and about
Contusio (<i>ð</i>)	.	.	50	20	50	...	...	30	...	...	...	...	...
Morisotus	.	.	60	...	...	...	...	...	30	27	...	...	...
Sansovino	.	.	70	45	30	14	89	...	...	...	...	...	...
Foglietta	.	.	60	42	30	...	89	13	30	18	...	...	4000
Caresino, col. 421	.	.	66	45	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Çurita, viii. chap. 46	.	.	...	...	30	...	...	...	...	14	...	...	...
Deza, p. 223	.	.	60	45	30	12	87	...	30	...	...	...	1800
Giustiniani, ii. 91	.	.	60	45	30	14	89	...	30	18	...	...	4000
Mailly, i. 304	.	.	60	30	24	...	70	...	30	18	...	...	4000
Diedo, i. 33	.	.	...	...	...	...	42	...	...	...	...	...	...

(a) The number given for the Greek ships is obviously an error for 14.

(b) Contusio places this event in the year 1354, and is evidently confusing it with the battle of Sapienza.

BATTLE OF SAPIENZA.	Genoa.	Venice.	Taken.	Prisoners.	Killed.
Laugier, iv. 57 .	36	35	34	5000	...
Veneroso, p. 36 .	33	36	...	5000	...
Buoninsegni .	33	...	...	5870	4000
	about				
Dandolo, col. 424 (a)	36	69	all	...	...
Blondus, dec. ii.					
lib. x. .	25	...	...	5000	...
Bizaro .	25	36	all	5400	...
		and 5			
Vincens, V. iv. .	35	36	all	5000	...
		and 5			
Naugerio .	25	15	all	...	...
Stella, G. .	25	36	all	5000	...
		and 5			
De la Houssaye .	...	36	all	5000	...
Daru, i. 626 .	33	35	all	5870	...
		and 6			
Sanuto .	36	35	all	...	...
		and 22			
Bianchi .	35	...	60	5400	4000
Villani, M., col. 145 .	33	35	all	5870	4000
		and 29			
Serra, ii. 365 .	35	35	all	5870	4000
		and 26			
Fanucci .	35	...	all	5000	...
Saraceni .	60	35	...	5000	...
		and 22			
Sabellico, dec. ii.					
lib. iii. .	36	35	one	5000	...
		and 22	escaped		
Muratori, xii. 442 (b).	35	35	all	5000	...
Domenichi, p. 487 .	35	36 and	all	5000	...
		6 and			
		others			
Sismondi, vi. 132 .	35	35	all	5870	4000
Foglietta .	35	36	all	5400	...
		and 22			
Accinelli .	...	35	...	5400	...
		and 20			
Deza .	...	36	...	5400	...
		and 5			
Giustiniani .	...	36 and	all	5400	...
		5 and			
		others			
Ferrari .	..	36	all	5400	...
		and 22			
Mailly, i. 310 .	...	35	all	5000	...
		and 22			
Caresino, col. 424 .	36	35	all "as it	pleased	God"
		and 31			

(a) Venice had 69 of all sail.

(b) Venice had 35 galleys, 6 great ships, and so others.

APPENDIX II

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APPENDIX II (*continued*)

BATTLE OF POLA.	Genoa.	Venice.	Taken.	Prisoners.	Killed.
Laugier, iv. 295 .	24	19	15	2000	2000
Sansovino . .	22	...	...	...	...
Dandolo, col. 446 .	25	18	14	...	...
Blondus, dec. ii. lib. x. . .	23	21	18	...	2000
Bizaro . . .	22	22	15	2400	...
Vincens, V. vii. .	24	22	15	2400	...
Naugerio . . .	41	...	14	...	...
De la Houssaye .	...	...	15	2400	...
Daru . . .	22	20	15	1900	...
		about			
Redusio de Quero (a) .	24	21	15	2000	...
Bonincontri . .	23	21	20	2000	...
Sanuto (b) . . .	26	27	18	1900	...
Bianchi . . .	22	21	15	...	...
Gataro . . .	22	22	18	2400	...
Serra, ii. 427 . .	22	22	18	2400	...
	and 6 others	and 3 others			
Sigonio . . .	22	21	15	2400	...
Fanucci . . .	22	22	18	2400	...
	and 6	and 3			
Chronicon Estense .	22	21	15	...	...
Sabellico, dec. ii. lib. v. . .	24	21	15	2400	...
Sismondi, vii. 198 .	22	24	15	1900	...
Muratori, xii. 619 .	...	22	15	2000	...
Deza, bk. vii. . .	...	...	15	2400	...
Giustiniani . . .	...	21	15	2407	...
Foglietta . . .	15	21	15	...	...
Interiano . . .	...	21	15	...	...
Accinelli . . .	...	21	18	...	...
Chinazzo . . .	...	24	15	...	...
Mailly, i. 348 . .	24	20	15	2500 and more	...
Diedo . . .	...	...	15	...	...
Caresino, col. 446 (c) .	23	18	14	...	...

(a) Venice had 16 light galleys and five ships laden with cargo.

(b) Genoa had 21 galleys, 2 brigantines, and 3 barques.

(c) Genoa had 23 galleys and 2 galladelle.

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